

A B R I E F  
A C C O U N T

From the most Authentic 1508/134.

Protestant Writers

O F T H E  
CAUSES, MOTIVES, and MISCHIEFS,  
O F T H E

*Irish Rebellion,*

O N

The 23d Day of October 1641,

Deliver'd in a DIALOGUE between a

*Dissenter*, and a *Member* of the Church of  
*Ireland* as by Law establish'd.

Together with an

A P P E N D I X  
C O N T A I N I N G,

A Remonstrance of the Gentry,  
and Commonality of the  
County of *Cavan*, Written  
by Bishop *Bedell* in 1641.

Mr. *Howell's* Account of the  
Causes of this Rebellion.

Extract of the Brief Narrative

of the same publish'd in 1660  
by the *Irish* Papists.

A Collection of some of the  
Massacres committed on the  
*Irish* therein: And a Relation  
of the Massacre of *Glenco*.

*Satis firmum est, ad probandam veritatem, Testimonium, quod ab ipso  
perhibetur Inimicis.*

LONDON: Printed in the Year 1747, and DUBLIN:

## Advertisement.

**T**HIS Dialogue was written during the <sup>2</sup> late Rebellion in Scotland, in Vindication of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, against whom (notwithstanding their quiet, and dutiful behaviour at that Juncture, and indeed ever since the Revolution) many false, and scurrillous Libels were then published.

In Justice therefore to that People, (whom, notwithstanding the difference of their Religion from mine, I shall ever regard as my Brethren, and countrymen) I now venture to expose to public view the behaviour of some of their Predecessors in that period of Time, which hath furnished most Matter of Invective against them; and herein, I flatter my self, I shall be deemed by all candid Persons, to have acted no other Part, but that of an Advocate for Truth, and Mercy, in behalf of a set of Men, who have been so long, in the general, condemn'd without either.

And this I am the more inclined to hope, because I have, through this whole Controversy, quoted no other Writings in their Favour, but those of their greatest Enemies; whose Testimonys, tho' always to be suspected, when against them, are surely, when for them, highly credible, as being evidently extorted by the Force of Truth alone.

### Names of the Writers quoted in this Dialogue.

King Charles 1st.  
 Earl of Strafford.  
 Earl of Clarendon.  
 Sir John Temple.  
 Doctor Edward Borlase.  
 Sir Edward Walker.  
 Roger first Earl of Orrery.  
 Bishop of Dromore.  
 Walter Harris Esq;  
 Doctor Maxwell, Bishop of Kilmore.  
 Doctor Howell.  
 Doctor Nalson.  
 Doctor Swift,



<sup>2</sup> In the Year 1745.

A Brief



*A brief Account, from the most authentic Protestant Writers, of the Causes, Motives, and Mischiefs of the Irish Rebellion on the 23d Day of October 1641, delivered in a Dialogue between a Dissenter, and a Member of the Church of Ireland, as by law established.*

Ch. **I**T is confess'd on all Hands, that both at this present troublesome Conjunction, and for more than fifty Years past, the *Irish Papists* among us have behaved as dutifully, and submissively (notwithstanding the particular Restraints they have always lain under) as any other of his Majesty's Subjects. Why therefore is the *Rebellion* of *forty one*, with so many unjust, and unhuman Exaggerations at this time, trump'd up against them? Why, I say, when no present Cause of Complaint can be assign'd by us against that People, who are our Brethern, both as Christians, and as Men, do we thus unmercifully rip up old Sores; and revive obsolete Quarrels, to bring an odium upon them, which we our selves allow they never personally deserved? For my part, I never look into those bitter *Invectives*, that are daily coming out against them, without an Apprehension that they were designed to spirit up their *numerous and powerful Enemies to extirpate*, by all possible Means, that useful, and inoffensive set of Men from the Face of the Earth.

Diff. What renders the traiterous and inhuman Proceedings of the *Irish Papists* in the Year 1641 utterly inexcusable, and necessary to be always remembered by us, is, that, at that Juncture, the state of their Affairs, both *spiritual* and *temporal*, was, according to all our Historians, and Divines, as quiet and happy, as they themselves could reasonably wish it. "Whatever, says the Earl of Clarendon, their Land, Labour, and Industry produced, was their own, being free from fear of having it taken from them by the King, on any pretence whatsoever, without their own Consent:" And as to *spiritual* Matters, the same noble Historian informs us, "that the whole Nation enjoy'd an undisturbed exercise of their Religion, and that even in *Dublin* (where the Seat of the King's chief Governour was) they went as PUBLICLY, and uninterruptedly to their Devotions, as HE went to his.—In this blessed Condition of Peace, and Security, concludes his Lordship, the *English*, and *Irish*, the *Protestants* and

“ *Roman Catholics* lived, &c. during the whole happy Reign of  
 “ King *James*, and from his Death, every degree of their Hap-  
 “ piness was INCREASED and IMPROVED, under the Govern-  
 “ ment of his late Majesty (King *Charles I*st.).

*Ch.* Indeed, I wonder not a little, that the Earl of *Clarendon* has thus confidently asserted so notorious a Falshood; but I think it not at all strange, that all our Historians, Preachers, and Libellers, since his Time, have taken up that falshood from him upon trust, and vended it as a certain Truth, upon all Occasions, wherein that unhappy Affair is mentioned.

*Diff.* And will you, Sir, undertake to prove it a Falshood?

*Ch.* I will in every particular; and that too by Authorities, which, even to you, will appear unexceptionable.

*Diff.* What you say surprizes me exceedingly!

*Ch.* For, to begin with temporal Matters, the Business of *defective Titles* alone, which in both these Reigns was rigorously prosecuted in *Ireland* by the then Lords Deputies, chiefly with a view to enrich themselves, to extirpate the *Roman Catholic* Natives, and to plant foreign *Protestants* on their Estates, was not, you will allow, very compatible with that *blessed Peace*, and Security, which your noble Historian informs us these Natives then enjoy'd.

*Diff.* The Business of defective Titles (as I take it) in *Ireland* was no more than this; that such Persons, as were possessed of Estates in that Kingdom, and could not upon a judicial Enquiry shew any legal Title to them, were condemn'd to a forfeiture of them; and such Estates were to revert to the Crown.

*Ch.* It would be too tedious to enlarge on the Nature of that Business at present; but I will give you a sketch of one Branch of it, and of the then Proceedings therein, in the Words of a Committee of the *Irish* House of Commons, as set forth in their Letter to the E. of *Strafford* in the Year 1634, wherein, after having mentioned, that this uncertainty of their Estates, or the calling in Question their Titles to them (whereby manifold Inconveniencies had befallen the Nation) was first occasioned, by “ the  
 “ embezzling, burning, and defacing of Records, and other Evi-  
 “ dences, which happen'd in that Realm in Times loose, and un-  
 “ certain, troubled with continual War, and that it was after-  
 “ wards increased by the Negligence, or Ignorance of sundry  
 “ Persons employed heretofore in passing of Patents, and Estates  
 “ from the Crown; whereby many Errors in Law crept into these  
 “ Grants.” They add, “ whereof divers indigent Persons,  
 “ with Eagle Eyes piercing thereinto, commonly took advantage,  
 “ to the UTTER OVERTHROW of many noble and deserving



“ Persons, that for valuable Considerations of Service or Money,  
“ or BOTH, honourably, and fairly acquired these Estates.”

*Diff.* These Words seem to allude to the Proceedings of Sir *Arthur Chichester* in King *James* the 1<sup>st</sup>'s Reign, and to those of the Lord *Falkland* in that of King *Charles* the 1<sup>st</sup>, concerning that Affair ; and yet I think both these Deputies therein only acted the part of faithful Servants to the Crown.

*Ch.* And nobly were they rewarded for such service !<sup>a</sup> Sir *Arthur Chichester* with Land, which in the Year 1638 was of no less than ten thousand Pounds yearly value ; and the Lord *Falkland* with ten thousand Pounds at one Gift. And it is probable, that the Earl of *Strafford*, succeeding to their Power and Authority, exerted himself so arbitrarily, and tyrannically, as we find he did, in the same Business; in hopes of meeting with an equal Recompence.

*Diff.* In what respect did the E. of *Strafford* exert himself arbitrarily, and tyrannically in that Business ?

*Ch.* I'll tell you that in his own Words ;—First, in this Kind of Tryal of the Titles of the Natives to their Estates, which their Forefathers had quietly enjoyed for many Centuries, he proposed the raising of “ five hundred Horse, as GOOD LOOKERS “ ON.” Secondly, “ he resolved to treat with such as might “ give furtherance in finding the Title for the King.” Thirdly, “ he enquired out “ fit Men to serve upon JURYS” on that occasion. Fourthly “ he obtained a Grant from his Majesty of “ four Shillings in the Pound to the Lord Chief Justice, and the “ Lord Chief Baron of *Ireland*, forth of the first yearly Rent “ raised upon the Commission of defective Titles ;” which *Mod- ney* (says his Lordship) upon Observation I find to be the best “ given that ever was; for they intend that Business with a Care “ and Diligence, as if it were their own Private.” Fifthly, “ in the County of *Galway*, where the Jury refused to dispossess the Natives, and find the Title in the King, he fined the Sheriff, that returned them a thousand Pounds to his Majesty, and bound over the Jury to answer in the *Castle Chamber*, “ where, says he, we “ conceive it is fit, that their PERTINACIOUS CARRIAGE be “ follow'd with all JUST SEVERITY.”

*Diff.* These Proceedings were not, I confess, very equitable.

*Ch.* By these means, his Lordship actually depriv'd many of the *Irish Papists* of their Estates; and seized upon them for the King's use; and he attempted to do the like on the entire Counties of *Roscommon*, *Mayo*, and *Gork*, with some Parts of *Tipperary*,

<sup>a</sup> Id. ib. Vol. 2. fol. 294.    <sup>e</sup> Id. ib. v. 2. fol. 198.    <sup>f</sup> V. 1. fol. 339.    <sup>g</sup> Id. ib.    <sup>h</sup> Id. ib. v. 2. fol. 41.    <sup>i</sup> Id. ib. v. 1. fol. 451.

*Limerick, Wicklow, and other Places*; \* although his Majesty had, in the Year 1628, given his Royal Promise to that People under his princely Signet (in Consideration of two hundred and seventy Thousand Pounds, by them freely given to him) to secure them in their Estates against all such Enquiries, and to have that his Grace, and many others, past into Laws, at the next meeting of their Parliament.

*Diff.* And what hindered his Majesty from fulfilling his Royal Promise to that People?

*Ch.* The pressing, and constant Sollicitations of the Earl of *Strafford* dissuading him from it. For in the Year 1634, after the *Irish* Commons had chearfully granted the new subsidies then demanded of them, they sent that Letter, which I have already mentioned, to his Lordship, to be by him transmitted into *England*; wherein, reminding his Lordship of the King's Promise to them, they set forth "the Comfort they took in his Majesty's Royal Word, THE BEST OF ASSURANCES, and in his Princely Signature," formerly past to them. But the Earl of *Strafford*, as I said before, instead of promoting the performance of that promise, as in Justice to that People, and in Honour of his Majesty's Word, he ought to have done, used all the Means in his Power to prevent it; and even offered his Majesty to take upon himself all the Blame, and Scandal, which he knew must attend to unjust, and perfidious a Denial; for which wonderful piece of Service, he soon after receiv'd, in a Letter under the King's own Hand, his Majesty's Thanks, and Approbation; and such was the blessed, and happy Condition, which *Clarendon* tells us the *Irish* lived in at that Juncture, with regard to Temporals; and as for spiritual Matters, their situation—

*Diff.* Was not, I hope, quite so bad—

*Ch.* It was indeed much worse.—For instead of enjoying an uninterrupted, and public, Exercise of their Religion, as your Noble Historian would make the World believe they did, they could not obtain even a Tolleration of it, during a great part of that, and the former Reign: For "in the Year 1629 that memorable Protestation, says *Borlase*, made by the Bishops against "Popery, and published in *Christ-Church Dublin*, by Doctor "Downham, Bishop of *Derry*, was grateful:" In the same Year, says the Bishop of *Dromore* °, "a strict Proclamation issued against the Exercise of the Popish Rites and Ceremonys:" And it was upon Occasion of this Proclamation, and Persecution, "that "the *Irish Roman Catholicks* offered constantly to pay an Ar-

\* Id. ib. vol. 1. fol. 310.

1 Id. ibid.

2 Id. ib. vol. 1. fol. 331.

3 *Borlase* Red. of Ireland.

4 Serm. on 23d. Oct. 1733, p. 18.

5 Sir Edward Walker's obser. on the annals of *Hammon L'Estrange* fol. 338.



“ my<sup>e</sup> of five Thousand Foot, and five Hundred Horse, for his Majesty's Service, provided they might be *tolerated* in the Exercise of their Religion; which Offer was not accepted. ”

*Diff.* 'Tis strange, that the E. of *Clarendon* should have been ignorant of these Matters!

*Ch.* 'Tis plain, he could not be ignorant of them; and perhaps I shall account to you, some other Time, for his having so boldly asserted these and other notorious Untruths to the prejudice of the *Irish*.——But to go on with my Authorities. “ In 1633, *Richard E. of Cork*, and *Sir Adam Loftus*, being Lords Justices<sup>d</sup>, “ the *Roman Catholick* Clergy of *Dublin* were suppressed, and “ fifteen Houses (Chapples) by the Direction of the Lords of the “ Council in *England* seized on for the King's use; and the *Fryars* and *Priests* were so persecuted, as two (says *Borelace*) hang'd “ themselves in their own Defence.” I omit here what, I suppose, is known to every Body, that the Tax of twelve Pence a Sunday was rigorously levied on the *Roman Catholicks* of *Ireland*, for absenting themselves from the *Protestant* service, in both these Reigns.

*Diff.* I insist upon it, that the E. of *Strafford* did suspend that Tax in *Ireland*, as soon as he arrived there.

*Ch.* The E. of *Strafford* did, indeed, politically suspend that Tax; but he at the same Time, managed Matters so artfully with the *Irish Papists*, by Compositions, Contributions, and other Means, that he had good Reason to boast “ that he did more “ towards a Reformation, so far as a *pecuniary Mulct* can effect it, “ than any that went before him.” In short, he so grievously oppressed that People every way, that the “ E. of *Holland*, one of the Privy Council in *England*, could not conceal his Fears in the Year 1636, “ that his Lordship's Severity might dispose them “ to call the *Irish* Regiments out of *Flanders* to their Assistance.” And the E. of *Strafford* himself “ gives us to understand, that he was threatened, and not unapprehensive of meeting with a *Pelton*, or a *Raviliac* among them. So scandalously false is that Affirmation of your noble Historian; “ that every degree of the Happiness of the “ *Irish* was increased, and improved, under the Government of “ King *Charles* the 1<sup>st</sup>. ”

*Diff.* It seems then that the Seeds of that horrid Rebellion, which broke out in the Year 1641, were sown at the Times you have mentioned, under the Earl of *Strafford's* oppressive Administration.

*Ch.* So far from it, that I will demonstrate to you, that his oppressive and galling Administration did not at all lessen the great Loyalty of the *Irish Papists*, even when continued to the Year

\* *Borl. Red. of Irl.*

\* *Ibid.*

\* *E. of Straff. State Letters v.*

1. p. 174.

\* *id. ibid. v. 2. p. 33.*

\* *id. ibid. v. 1. p. 412.*

1639. For at that Time, when the breaking out of the Rebellion in Scotland occasioned his Lordship to call another Parliament in Ireland, in order to raise new and large Subsidies for his Majesty, the NATIVES in the House of Commons, who were mostly Irish Papists, gave the strongest Proofs of an unparalell'd Affection and Loyalty to the King w<sup>h</sup> " some of them having said, that his Majesty " should have a *Fee simple* on their Estates on that occasion: others " of them, with great chearfulness, declared, that, to answer " his Majesty's Occasions, for the Honour of his Person, and " safety of his Kingdoms, it was fit to be done, though it were " with leaving themselves nothing beside *Hose* and *DOUBLET*: " That their Hearts contained *Mines of Subsidies* for his Majesty &c. " And these Declarations were unanimously assented to by the whole " House, there being found therein not one *NEGATIVE VOICE*; " and all this was concluded with general Acclamations, and signs " of Joy, and Contentment, even to the throwing up of their *Hats*, " and lifting up of their *Hands*; &c. " And the E. of *Strafford* himself, in his Letter to the Marquis of *Hmilton* on this Subject, says \* " It is not to be believed, what a forwardness there is in " this People to serve on this Occasion; and certainly they will " sell *themselves* to the *last Farthing*, before they deny any thing, " which can be asked of them in order to that."

*Diff.* How happen'd it then, that, in about two Years after, these same, so exceedingly loyal Natives, broke out into that horrid Rebellion?

*Ch.* After what I have related to you, it is not natural to think, that their rising in Rebellion so soon after was the Effect of any settled Disaffection in them to his Majesty's Person or Government; but it is very evident, that it was entirely owing to a Continuation, and increase of the Grievances already mentioned, and to their just Apprehensions of others still greater, with which they were threatned; and as these Grievances, and Apprehensions must have been always very affecting to that People, they certainly became much more so at that Juncture, when they were considered by them as the only Recompence they were to expect for their late transcendent Loyalty and Affection to the Crown of *England*. And this is apparent from the Examination of *Owen O-Conolly* himself, who was the first that discovered this Conspiracy to the Lords Justices and Council in *Ireland*: For he therein swears, that the *Irish* Rebels \* " declared (on that occasion) that they did owe their

w These are the Words of a Letter written by such of the Privy Council in *Ireland*, as were Members of that Parliament. See that Letter at large in the 2d vol. of *Straff.* State Letters fol. 397. \* id, ib. v. 2. fol. 401.

\* *Temple's Hist. of the Irish Rebellion.* It appears from several Queries of a Committee of the *Irish* House of Commons in the *Summer* of



their Allegiance to the King, and would pay him all his Rights; but that they did this (Rise) for the *Tyrannical Government* was over them." *Diff.* can you produce me a Proof of the Grounds of those *Apprehensions*, which you say the *Irish* had of further *Grievances* from the then Government of *England* or *Ireland*?

*Ch.* <sup>a</sup> Doctor *Howell*, the King's Historiographer, mentioning the Causes of, and incentives to, this Rebellion, alledges, that " the *Irish* understanding with what Acrimony the *Roman Catholics* in *England* were proceeded against, since the sitting of the *English* Parliament, and what further designs were on foot against them &c. thought it high time for them to forecast what should become of them, &c. when a new Deputy of the Parliament's Election, Approbation at least, should come over; and this, adds he, " was another Motive, (and indeed it was a shrewd one) which " push'd on the *Irish* to take up Arms;" And <sup>b</sup> Doctor *Maxwell*, afterwards Bishop of *Kilmore*, " deposes, that he had asked many " both of the *Irish* Commanders, and Fryars, what chiefly mov- " ed them to take up Arms, and that they said (among other things) " that they were certainly informed, that the Parliament of *En- land* had a Plot to bring them all to Church, or to cut off all " the *Papists* in the King's Dominions."

*Diff.* These Testimonies prove only that the *Irish*, at that time, had such Apprehensions; but not at all, that there were any just Grounds for them.

*Ch.* Will you not allow, that there are just Grounds for apprehending a Danger, with which People are apparently threaten'd by those, who are much more powerful than themselves?

*Diff.* I will.

*Ch.* Well then, that such was the Case of the *Irish Papists* at that time, I will prove from the words of the Royal Martyr himself, who surely ought to be supposed the most knowing, and impartial Judge of this Matter. These words are, " certainly 'tis

B

" thought

1641, that the *Irish* then laboured under many insupportable Grievances, of which the following are only a few, *viz.* " Jurors upon many occasions, that gave verdict according to their Consciences were censured " in the Castle Chamber in great Fines, some times pillored with the loss " of Ears, and bored thro' the Tongue, and some times mark'd in the " Forehead with a hot Iron.—*Quo-Warrantos* were issued out of the " King's Bench, and Exchequer against Burroughs, which anciently, and " recently, sent Members to Parliament.—The Testimony of Thieves " protected, and other infamous Persons, was taken against their Lives " and Libertys, &c. &c." See *Borelace's* History of the *Irish* Rebellion. <sup>a</sup> *Mer. Hiber. Anno* 1643. <sup>b</sup> His Exam. Apend. to *Borelace's* Hist. of the *Irish* Rebel.

<sup>c</sup> *Eck. Basilic.* " Both Houses of the *English* Parliament, says the E. of " *Castlabaven*, were solicited by several Petitions out of *Ireland* to have

“ thought by many wise Men, that the preposterous *Rigor*, and unreasonable severity, which some Men carryed before them in *England*, was not the least incentive that *kindled*, and blew in to *horrid Flames* the sparks of Discontent, which wanted not predisposed Fuel of Rebellion in *Ireland*; where *Despair* being added to their former Discontents, and the fears of *utter Extirpation* to their *wonted Oppressions*, it was easy to *provoke* them to open Rebellion, &c. both to exempt themselves from their *present Restraint*, and *prevent* those after *Rigors*, wherewith they saw *themselves* apparently threatened by the *Covetous Zeal*, and *uncharitable Fury* of some Men, who think it a great argument of the truth of *their Religion*, to endure no other but *their own*.”

*Diff.* But what provocation can, any way, justify the incredibly numerous, and inhuman Massacres, that were perpetrated by the *Irish Papists* on the *British Protestants*, in the very beginning of this Rebellion?

*Ch.* I readily grant, that no Provocation cou'd have any way justified, or excused such Massacres, as you would suppose to have been perpetrated on the *British Protestants* by the *Irish Papists*, in the beginning of this Rebellion; but I absolutely deny your Supposition, that such Massacres were then perpetrated on the *British Protestants* by the *Irish Papists*.

*Diff.* The Earl of *Clarendon*, who is, you know, the most moderate of all our Writers upon this subject, expressly says, that “ on the 23d of *October 1641*, a Rebellion broke out in *all parts of Ireland*, except *Dublin*, where the Design of it was miraculously discovered the Night before it was to be executed, &c. but that, in the other parts of the Kingdom, they observed the Time appointed, not hearing of the misfortune of their Friends at *Dublin*, &c. That a general Insurrection of the *Irish* spread it self over the whole Country, in such an inhuman, and barba-

“ the *Roman Catholicks* of that Kingdom treated with the like *Rigor* (as those in *England* then were) which to a People so fond of their Religion as the *Irish*, was no small Inducement to make them, while there was an opportunity offered, to stand on their guard. *Mem. p. 12.* And in an Extract of the brief Narrative, addressed by *P. Walsh* to the Duke of *Ormond* in 1664, we find these Words, “ the whole World may be pleased to know, &c. that before the *Irish* fell from their Obedience to the Government, Sir *William Parsons*, one of the Lords Justices, at a public Entertainment, before many Witnesses, did positively declare, that within a Twelvemonth no Catholick should be seen in *Ireland*. Many Hands were sought, and thousands were found to subscribe a Petition, tending to introduce a severe Persecution against Catholics. *P. W. Reply to a person of Quality. p. 7.*

“ *Hist. of the Rebellion in England. v. I. p. 169.*



“ rous manner, that there were *forty or fifty thousand Protestants*  
 “ murdered before they suspected themselves in any *Danger*, or  
 “ could provide for their *Defence*, by drawing together into towns,  
 “ or strong Houses.”

*Ch.* Will you give me leave to ask you a few Questions concerning this Assertion of the Earl of *Clarendon*, before I give you my Answer as to the matters of Fact contained in it?

*Diff.* With all my Heart, Sir.

*Ch.* Well then, suppose I prove to you from unquestionable Records, which were generally known in the Earl of *Clarendon*'s time, that this Rebellion (so far from breaking out on the 23d of *October 1641* in all parts of *Ireland*, except *Dublin*, as his Lordship affirms) was then, and for some time after, confined to some parts of the Province of *Ulster* only, will you not allow, that his Lordship hath so far affirm'd, and endeavour'd to propagate, a most shameful, and injurious Falshood?

*Diff.* I will.

*Ch.* And if I shall thereby prove, that fewer, by three Parts in four of the *Irish* did rise on the 23d of *October 1641*, than what his Lordship reports, may I not fairly conclude, that, at least, one half of the Murders he hath lay'd to their charge were never committed by them?

*Diff.* I believe you may.

*Ch.* Certainly, after a Writer has been convicted of so notorious an untruth, and Calumny, with respect to three whole Provinces of a Kingdom, which consists only of four, (the revolting or quietness of which must be publicly known) we may well suppose, without the least breach of Charity, that he hath prevaricated much more egregiously with regard to the number of Persons murdered in that Revolt, the Knowledge of which is, on many Accounts, so very hard to be come at.

*Diff.* But I long to hear your Proofs, from unquestionable Records, as you call them, that this Rebellion, on the 23d of *October 1641*, and for some time after, was not general in all parts of

\* The surprizing Difference and Inconsistency of the Accounts given  
 “ us of these Murders by the Enemys of the *Irish Papists*, is no incon-  
 “ siderable proof of the falshood of that Imputation. Sir *William Pett*,  
 Surveyor General of *Ireland*, soon after that period, says, that, “ after  
 “ the closest Scrutiny, there were not above 36,000 KILL'D ON BOTH  
 “ SIDES, in the FIELD, and in COLD BLOOD, during the whole Time  
 “ of the War.” And I have seen a Manuscript, written about the year  
 1667, which says, that 400 *English* could not be found murdered during  
 the whole time of this Rebellion, “ as appeareth, adds the Author, by  
 “ the proceedings, and the Records of the usurped Powers still extant in  
 “ *Dublin*, and their severe Enquiry, and High Court of Justice.” They  
 who have an Opportunity (which I have not had) of consulting these Re-  
 cords, may soon satisfy themselves, as to this particular.

*Ireland, except Dublin, but confined to some part of the Province of Ulster only.*

*Ch.* I am now ready to produce that proof to you ; and this it is ——— The then Lords Justices of *Ireland*, Sir *William Parsons*, and Sir *John Borelace*, in a Proclamation published by them on the 29th of *October* 1641, explaining what they had too generally set forth in a former Proclamation concerning the *Irish Papists*, engaged in the beginning of this Rebellion, † “ declare and publish to “ all his Majesty’s good Subjects, that, by the words *Irish Papists* “ (mentioned without distinction in the former Proclamation) *they* “ intended only such of the old mere *Irish* in the Province of *Ulster*, as had plotted, contrived, and been Actors in that Treason, “ and others, who adhered to them.” And that this Rebellion was not then general, (even in the Opinion of these Lords Justices) and spread over the whole Country, nor did begin to be general till the \* 14th of *December* following, evidently appears by their Letter of that Date to the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, then in *England*, wherein we find these words concerning it, “ And “ the Fire, which was first kindled in *Ulster*, and lay a while “ smothered in other parts, begins now to break out generally.” As for the intermediate month of *November* we learn, that all Things were quiet in the two large Provinces of *Connaught* and *Munster* on the 14th thereof, from a passage in the Journal of the House of Lords in *England* to this purpose, “ Next a letter was “ read written to the Lord Chamberlain, dated the 14th of *November* 1641, from *Ireland*, the principal particulars of which “ were these ; that the Town of *Galway* in *Ireland* is well fortified, and in Command of Mr. *Willoughby* ; that the Province “ (*Connaught*) wherein his Lordship (*Clanrickard*) is, doth utterly dislike the proceedings of the Rebels — That the whole “ Province of *Munster* is yet quiet.”

*Diff.* But, if this Rebellion was not, then, general in all, or, at least, most parts of *Ireland* (except *Dublin*) and if the *Irish Papists* in the other parts did not observe the time appointed, (*viz.* the 23d of *October* 1641) as *Clarendon* says they did, how happened it, that so many “ thousands *English Protestants* were surprised, and murdered (as they certainly were) before they suspected “ themselves in any Danger, or could provide for their safety, by “ drawing together into Towns and strong Houses ?”

† See *Temple’s Hist. of the Irish Rebellion.* p. 34.

\* These Lords Justices in their Commission sent down to *Ulster*, and dated the 23d of *December* 1641, only say, “ Whereas divers wicked, “ and disloyal People have lately risen in Arms in several parts of this “ Kingdom, and have robbed, and spoiled, &c. *Temple’s Hist.* p. 137.



*Ch.* That this Rebellion was not general, but confined to some parts of *Ulster* only on the 23d of *October* 1641, I have given you unquestionable proof, if you will allow the Proclamation and letter of the then Lords Justices of *Ireland* to be such ; but it seems, that the Earl of *Clarendon* thought it necessary to advance the *first Falshood* concerning the generality of this Rebellion, in order to give some colour of Truth to the *second*, viz. the incredible number of Murders, which, he says, were committed by the *Irish* at the beginning of it.

*Diff.* Perhaps you will not allow that any considerable number of Protestants was murdered at the first breaking out of this Rebellion ?

*Ch.* After a careful perusal of our own best Writers on this Subject, I don't see any Reason that should induce me to think there was—for <sup>h</sup> Sir *John Temple* himself confesses (and it is a most wonderful Confession from him) that “ the *Irish* (in *Ulster*) at the “ very first, for some few days after their breaking out, did not, “ in most places, murder many *English*; but the course they took “ (says he) was to seize upon all their Goods, and Cattle”——<sup>1</sup> and in all the Examinations, that have been published concerning the Murders committed during this Rebellion, I find no mention made of any that was perpetrated by the *Irish* on the *English* on the 23d of *October* 1641, or for some time after ; except that of five Persons, who are not placed under any date, but are only in general said to have been murdered soon after the Rebellion ; and sure that day was so sadly remarkable, that whatever mischiefs were done on it could not have been forgotten.

*Diff.* That, I must own, is somewhat strange.

*Ch.* Nay, there is the strongest presumptive Proof, that, I think, can be had of any thing, that no Murders at all, at least none considerable, were committed by the *Irish* at their first breaking out.

*Diff.* Let us hear that Proof.

*Ch.* The Lords Justices and Council, already mentioned, in <sup>k</sup> their Letter of the 25 of *October* 1641 to the Lord Lieutenant in *England* (giving his Lordship an account of this Rebellion, which they had received from Persons of Quality and Rank in *Ulster*) take notice indeed, “ that the *Irish* had burned and plundered “ the Houses of the *English* there, at their first setting out,” but write not a word of their having murdered a single Person ; altho' they give us to understand in that Letter, that even in the County of *Monaghan* (where, <sup>l</sup> say these Lords Justices and Council,)

<sup>h</sup> History of the *Irish* Rebellion.  
and *Borlase*.

<sup>1</sup> See the Exam. in *Tew-*

<sup>k</sup> See *Temple's* Hist. of the *Irish* Rebellion.

<sup>l</sup> Ibid.

“ these Fires did first break out,” and consequently should have raged with greatest Fury, these Rebels then had the “ Lord *Blaney*’s Wife, Children, and Servants in their power ; as likewise several other Families ; a Plantation of *English* ; and the “ Inhabitants, and Garrison, of the Town of *Newry*.” And what puts it out of all doubt, that these Lords Justices and Council had heard of no murders committed by the *Irish* (and therefore that no Murders had been then committed by them) they expressly add, “ and this (plundering and burning of Houses) tho’ too much, is all we yet hear is done by them.”

*Diff.* But is it not possible, that the *Irish* might have then committed many inhuman Murders in *Ulster*, which these Lords Justices, and Council, residing in *Dublin*, might not have heard of so soon after as the date of that Letter ?

*Ch.* The possibility of the Thing I will not dispute ; but surely you will grant it to be highly improbable, “ that the Lord *Blaney*, Sir *Arthur Terringham*, and others, who were upon the spot, at the time, and place, wherein this Rebellion first broke out, and who communicated the first Account of it to the Lords Justices, and Council, would have omitted the most interesting, and affecting part of it, the murdering of so many thousands of Protestants, by the Rebels at their first rising out ; or that they could possibly have been ignorant of these Murders, if any such had been committed.

*Diff.* I confess, it is highly improbable, that either of these two things should have happened.

*Ch.* But I must put another Question to you on this Occasion, which is, whether you can suppose it possible, that these Lords Justices and Council should not have heard of these Murders on the 23d of *December* following, especially since the modest and veracious Sir *John Temple*, and his great Encomiast and Copyer, the Bishop of *Dromore*, roundly assert, that, in the two first months of this Rebellion (which space of time the date abovementioned exactly contains) “ more than one hundred and fifty thousand Protestants were massacred in cold Blood ; and that the “ most cruel, as well as the most frequent, of these massacres “ were committed in *Ulster*.”

*Diff.* Without doubt, ’tis impossible they should not have heard of these murders long before the 23d of *December* following.

*Ch.* And, if they had heard of them at that time, is it reasonable to believe, that in those Commissions, which they then sent down under the great Seal of *Ireland* to some Gentlemen in *Ul-*

“ Idid.      “ See *Temple’s History of the Irish Rebellion*.

• Appendix to his Sermon on the 23d of *October* 1733, *Christ Church Dublin*.



seer, and other parts of the Kingdom, authorizing them <sup>2</sup> to call upon all those, who had suffered by this Rebellion, as also on all the Witnesses of these sufferings, to give in Examinations of the nature of them, and of every *Circumstance* relating to them; particularly therein mentioning, *Plunder, Robbery, Treasonable Actions*, and even *Speeches*, and *Words*: Is it reasonable, I say, to believe, that these Lords Justices and Council would not, at the same time, have given power in these Commissions to such Gentlemen, to take cognizance of Murders too; if even the thousandth part of those execrable Massacres had been then committed by the *Irish* on the *English*, which we are now told of?

*Diff.* As I am fully persuaded, that these Lords Justices and Council deemed these execrable Massacres by far more heinous crimes, and consequently more worthy of Punishment, than treasonable Speeches, and Words, I cannot think they would have sent down a Commission empowering Gentlemen to take Examinations about the latter, without making particular mention of, and giving a special Charge concerning the former; if indeed any such massacres had been committed at the time of sending down that Commission.

*Ch.* But that in these Commissions, dated the 23d of *December* 1641, and sent down to *Ulster*, and other parts, under the great Seal of *Ireland*, by the Lords Justices and Council, (wherein special power is given to make Enquiries into, and take Examinations concerning, all the above particulars) not a syllable is mentioned of Murder, you will find by reading the Commission it self, as you have it at large in Sir *John Temple's* History of this Rebellion, p. 137, 138.

*Diff.* But you will find in that History, that, in virtue of those Commissions sent down to *Ulster*, and other parts of *Ireland*, Examinations were afterwards taken concerning Murders, as well as concerning Plunder, Robbery, Treasonable Actions, Speeches, and Words.

*Ch.* I have already told you, that it does not appear from any of these Examinations, as they have been since published, that any Murders at all were committed by the *Irish* on the *English* at the first breaking out of this Rebellion; and whether or no these Examinations may be deemed competent proofs of the Murders, which they set forth to have been perpetrated in the progress of it, we shall hereafter examine——

*Diff.* But you will allow, I hope, that this Rebellion, soon after, became general among all the Popish Natives of that Kingdom.

*Ch.* It did indeed soon after become too general, but not among all the Popish Natives of the Kingdom; and that it's becoming so

was owing to the same Cause, (the Tyranny of the Lords Justices) which, I have already prov'd, at first gave it birth, *Clarendon* himself seems plainly to confess.

*Diff.* Pray how does he seem to confess it ?

*Ch.* In these words. ¶ “ Many Persons of Honour, says he, among the *Irish* Catholicks, had always given signal proofs of their Duty, and Affection to the King——others of them were, by the *Passion* and *Rigor* of those, who were then in *Authority*, and had power enough to *destroy*, whom they had *Inclination* enough to *Suspect*, or accuse, —driven to put themselves into the *Protection* of those, whose ways and courses they *totally disapproved*.” And the Royal Martyr himself testifyeth, in his *1k. Basilic*, that those Persons, then in Authority in *Ireland*, *Exasperated* the Rebels to the *most desperate Resolutions*, and *Actions*, by threatening all *Extremities*, not only to the *known Heads*, and *Chief Incendiaries*, but even to the *whole Community* of the *Nation*, resolving to destroy Root, and Branch, Men, Women, and Children, without any regard to the usual pleas of *Mercy*, which Conquerors, not wholly barbarous, are wont to hear from their own Breasts, in behalf of those, whose *oppressive Fears*, rather than *Malice*, engaged, &c.”

*Diff.* Can you produce me any Instance of such Tyranny in the Persons then in Authority in *Ireland* ?

*Ch.* I can produce you several, in their Civil, as well as Military, Administration; but I will confine my self, at present, to a few Instances of their arbitrary, and tyrannical Proceedings in the former Respect, tending rather to foment, and increase, than suppress, this Rebellion; as first, their peremptorily, and abruptly dissolving the Parliament, which met in *November*, 1641, in the Castle at *Dublin*, in order to put a stop to this Rebellion, after both Houses had unanimously agreed upon a most dutiful and loyal Resolution, wherein they set forth their utter Abhorrence, and Detestation of it, and their solemn Protestation, that, if necessary,

#### ¶ History of the *Irish* Rebellion.

¶ “ This Parliament, tho’ surrounded with armed Men, was suffered to sit but two Days, *Temp. Hist.* p. 123. But it seems, says the Earl of *Castlehaven*, that this way of proceeding did not square with the Lords Justices Designs, who were often heard to say, *That the more there were in Rebellion, the more Land should be forfeited to them*, and therefore, in the very height of the Business they resolved upon a Prorogation; which the Parliament understanding, the Lord *Costello*, and myself, were sent from the Lords House, and others from the House of Commons, to the Lords Justices, to desire the continuance of the Parliament, at least till the Rebels, then few in Number, were reduced; but our Address was slighted, and the Parliament prorogued to the general surprize of both Houses, and the great Dislike of all honest knowing Men.



\* they would take up Arms, and with their Lives, and Fortunes, endeavour to suppress it. Secondly, <sup>p</sup> tho' his Majesty, and both Houses of Parliament in *England*, had, at the beginning of this Rebellion, recommended it to these Lords Justices to bestow his Majesty's gracious pardon to *All such* without Distinction, as should within a convenient time return to their Obedience, yet these Lords Justices did, by their <sup>q</sup> Proclamation, published in *November* 1641, limit such his Majesty's, and the Parliament of *England*'s favourable and general intentions to the Inhabitants of a few counties only (*viz. Meath, Westmeath, Lowth, and Longford,*) Provided always they were *no Freeholders*, which sort of Men, were, to be sure, no more criminal than the rest, but because they had Estates to lose.

*Diff. So.* —————

*Ch.* Thirdly. In order to make these *Freeholders* still more desperate, and to deprive them of all hopes of ever afterwards reconciling themselves to the Government, these Lords Justices soon after broke the publick Faith with such of them as were near *Dublin*; for altho' they had publish'd a Proclamation on the 13th of *December* 1641, commanding some of them, (who had been frightened from their Dwellings by a Massacre committed at *Santry* by the express order of these Lords Justices) to appear before them in *Dublin* on the 18th of said month, thereby "giving them the word of the State, that they might then securely and safely repair thither"; these Lords Justices, I say, notwithstanding this Proclamation, did, on the 15th of said Month, send out Sir *Charles Coote* with some Forces to *Clontarffe*, a Village belonging to Mr. *King* (one of the chief of those Gentlemen, to whom the Word of the State, before mentioned, had been given,) which Forces "burn'd that Village, and excellently well (says *Borlase*) "quitted the service enjoyed them.

*Diff.* Does not Sir *John Temple* tell you, that these Lords Justices had great Provocation given them to send out these Forces

<sup>o</sup> See *Borlase's History of the Irish Rebellion.* p. 33.

<sup>p</sup> See the same, f. 56.

<sup>q</sup> See the same, f. 46.

<sup>r</sup> See the same, f. 60.

<sup>t</sup> See *Borl. History of the Irish Rebellion*, fol. 62.

<sup>u</sup> Sir *Charles*, besides plundering and burning this Town at that time, did massacre 16 of the Towns-people, Men and Women, besides 3 sucking Infants, and in the very same Week 56 Men, Women, and Children, of the Village of *Bulloge*, being frightened at what was done at *Clontarf*, took Boats, and went to Sea to shun the fury of a party of Soldiers, that were come out of *Dublin* under the Command of Col. *Crafford*; but, being pursued by the Soldiers in other Boats, they were overtaken, and thrown over Board. Appendix to *Clar. Hist. of the Irish Rebellion*, London printed by *Wilsford*, 1720.

to destroy *Clontarf*, before the expiration of the time that was allowed these Gentlemen to appear before them in *Dublin*?

*Ch.* Sir *John Temple* himself, tho' a Member of that Privy Council, which, in conjunction with these Lords Justices, authorised, and Commanded, the sending out of these Forces to *Clontarf*, does not accuse these Gentlemen, to whom the *Word of the State* had been given, of having done any thing in that Interval of time contrary to their Allegiance: He alleges indeed, that " some  
" of their Followers had seized a Bark lying there, and carried a-  
" way all the Commodities they found in her, a great part where-  
" of, says he, they had put into the dwelling House of Mr. King"; but he takes care not to tell us the precise time, in which this happened, whether before or after the *Word of the State* had been given to these Gentlemen: But let this Accident have happened when you will, and supposing the story true (for which, however, you have only Sir *John's* word, which is that of a Party excusing his own cruel and perfidious Act) will you, or will any Man, say, that Gentlemen were to be treated thus barbarously, and contrary to the publick Faith given them, because some of their Followers had in their Absence committed an Act of Injustice, in which they themselves, are not even accused of having had any part?

*Diff.* I must confess I know not how to vindicate such conduct of the Lords Justices and Council of *Ireland*.

*Ch.* And, to exasperate these Gentlemen still more, they, by their foul misrepresentations sent into *England* of the Actions and Dispositions of the *Irish*, were the cause, that both Houses of Parliament there (to whom the entire management of this War had been entrusted by the King) had <sup>w</sup> on the 8th of *December* 1641 resolv'd, upon a solemn Debate, that they never would consent to any Tolleration of the Popish Religion in *Ireland*<sup>a</sup>. About this time, the Lord *Dillon* of *Costeloe*, carrying a Remonstrance of the Grievances of the *Irish* to the King, was arrested in *England* by order of that Parliament, and had all his Papers rifled<sup>y</sup>. On the 21st of *March* 1641, the Lords of the Pale, who had been driven by the Rigor and Passion of these Lords Justices to put themselves under the protection of those Rebels, sent a Letter to the Government by the Earl of *Castlehaven*, humbly setting forth their Grie-

<sup>a</sup> *Irish* Rebellion. fol. 52.

<sup>w</sup> *Borelace's History of the Irish Rebellion*, fol. 52.

<sup>y</sup> *Id. ib.* fol. 54. Sir *John Read* a Scotchman, and one of his Majesty's Servants, preparing to go to *England* on the same Errand, was stop'd by the Marquis of *Ormond*, and sent to the Lords Justices; and, not concealing what he carry'd, was by them imprisoned, and soon after put to the Rack. *Castlehaven's Mem.* p. 38. *Borelace's Hist. of the Irish Rebellion*, 35. and *Cass. Mem.*



vances, and their willingness to submit ; but they were scornfully and insultingly rejected by them. And, entirely to compleat the Despair of the *Irish*, and to force the very meanest, (as they had before done the better sort) of them into Rebellion for the preservation of their Lives <sup>2</sup>, these Lords Justices published a Proclamation on the 10th of June 1642, revoking and annulling all the Protections that had been granted by them to all, and every of the poor, inoffensive labouring People, within the Baronies of *Castlenock*, *Nether-Cross*, *Balrothery*, and *Coolock*, in the County of *Dublin*, and within the Baronies of *Duleek*, *Skryne*, *Moyferagh*, *Ratoath*, *Deece*, and *Donboyne* in the County of *Meath*, on a groundless pretence, that “ many or most of these poor People “ had abused those Protections ; and then took Occasion <sup>a</sup> (from “ the Cruelties, which their own inhuman Treatment of them, “ had provoked, and exasperated some of the *Irish* to retaliate on “ the *English*) to <sup>b</sup> forbid any *Quarter* to be given to them ; and “ used all means to incense the Soldiers against the Nation in “ general.”

*Diff.* Such Proceedings of the Government of *Ireland* did not, indeed, shew any purpose or desire in them to put a stop to this Rebellion.

*Ch.* In order to put it out of all Doubt, that that Government was desirous, and industrious to continue and foment, rather than suppress this Rebellion, let me only observe to you, that when in the Year 1643 the Marquis of *Ormond* had, by the King's Command, proposed a Cessation to these Rebels (which they most readily and dutifully submitted unto) all Overtures towards it in the Marquis, and his Friends, were greatly disliked by the Persons then in power in that Government, “ and <sup>c</sup> a more displeasing “ and unpopular inclination, says *Clarendon*, could not be discovered in any Man, than a Wish or Consent that the War, (from

C 2

<sup>2</sup> *Borelace's Hist. of the Irish Rebel.* p. 99. Appendix ix.

<sup>a</sup> “ All this while, says the Earl of *Castlehaven*, Parties were sent out “ by the Lords Justices and Council from *Dublin*, and most Garrisons “ throughout the Kingdom, to kill and destroy the Rebels ; but the Officers and Soldiers took little or no care to distinguish between Rebels, “ and Subjects, but killed in many places promiscuously Men, Women, “ and Children. Which procedure not only exasperated the Rebels, and “ induced them to commit the like Cruelties on the *English*, but frightened the Nobility and Gentry round about them, who seeing harmless “ Country People, without respect to Age or Sex, thus barbarously murdered, and themselves openly threatn'd, &c. resolved to stand on their “ Guard. *Mem.* p. 37, 38.

<sup>b</sup> *Clarendon's History of the Irish Rebellion.*

<sup>c</sup> *Clar. History*

“ which

“ which so many *promised Revenge*<sup>d</sup> and *Fortunes*) should be any  
 “ other way ended, than with the *Blood and Confiscation* of all  
 “ whom they could *propose* to be guilty of the Defection.”

*Diff.* To what end did his Majesty conclude this Cessation with the *Irish Rebels*?

*Ch.* In order to bring over ten Thousand of them to his assistance in *England*, against his Parliament there, who had been for some Time before in actual Rebellion against him.

*Diff.* And had his Majesty so much Confidence in these *Irish Rebels*?

*Ch.* It is plain that he had ; for he knew full well, as I have already proved from his own Words, and from incontestible Facts, that their rising in Rebellion was not owing to any Disaffection in them to his Majesty, but (as the Examination of *Owen O-Connelly* sets it forth) “ to the *Tyrannical Government* that was over “ them.”

*Diff.* And what did the *English* Parliament think of this Cessation ?

*Ch.* They were so conscious that, his Majesty's good Opinion of the Bravery and Loyalty of these late *Irish Rebels* was well grounded, and so apprehensive, that their coming to his Majesty's Assistance might prove destructive to their Designs against him, that \* “ they made an Ordinance on the 24th of *October* 1644, “ upon the arrival of some of them in *England*) against giving any “ Quarter to any *Irishman*, or any *Papist* born in *Ireland*, taken “ in Hostility against the Parliament by Sea, or by Land.” Nay, the King himself, two Years after, endeavoured to escape from *England* to *Ireland* in Order to put himself into the Hands of the *Irish Papists* ; because, <sup>d</sup> says his Majesty, “ all the rest I see despise me ;” but to his own, and his People's great Misfortune, he was prevented by the Vigilance of the *English Rebels*, who then had him a Prisoner.

*Diff.* You have, I must own, fairly prov'd, that the *Irish Papists* had cause to be uneasy under the then Government of *Ireland*,

<sup>d</sup> From the beginning of this Rebellion in *Munster*, to *August* 1642, the E. of *Cork* had caused to be forfeited as many Estates of the Lords and Gentlemen of that Province alone, “ as, says his Lordship, were at “ the Beginning of this Insurrection, not of so little yearly value as “ two hundred thousand Pounds, &c.” His Lordship calls this “ the “ Work of Works.” *Orrery's State Letters*, vol. 1. It is therefore no wonder, that this noble Lord dyed on the Day of the Cessation, “ as “ being unwilling says *Borl.* to survive what was not *auspicious* to the “ *English. Red. of Ireland.* \* *Borl. Hist. Irish Rebel.* fol. 178. <sup>d</sup> *K. Charles's Works.*



and that such uneasiness, instead of being removed, was industriously increased, for some time after, by the severity of that Government: But you will not, I hope, pretend to justify the Massacres which they had committed during that Rebellion, or deny that they first began that horrible Tragedy?

*Ch.* I am far from pretending to justify those Cruelties (perpetrated by some of the Rabble of the *Irish* during this Rebellion) which all the sober and unbogotted *Roman Catholics*, then among them, and now among us, did, and do sincerely condemn and abhor. But I must insist upon it, that they neither began that Tragedy, nor committed a Murder, at that unhappy Juncture, that was not returned upon them at least four fold.

*Diff.* These are very strange and bold Assertions, Sir.

*Ch.* Nay more; it will appear upon a fair Enquiry, that whatever Cruelties were committed on the *English* by the *Irish*, during this Rebellion, were all perpetrated by an exasperated, and ungovernable Rabble, not only without, but absolutely against the Consent and Command of their Chiefs: Whereas those committed on the *Irish* by the *English* at that Time were expressly ordered by Persons, who had a Right to command them, and by the Lords Justices themselves.

*Diff.* Can you give me any Proofs of what you thus positively advance?

*Ch.* Yes, I can give you many more, than I have leisure at present to relate; and to omit even those Massacres of *Santry*, and *Clontarf*, already hinted at, which were committed by the express Orders of the then Lords Justices and Council (of the Cruelty and Perfidy of which I will leave you and all impartial Men to judge, by the very Apology, which our own Writers make for them) I will just produce one Instance of this authoriz'd Barbarity of the *English* Soldiers, and refer you for further Conviction to my general Proof, which you shall just now hear.

*Diff.* Well! let us have even that one Instance of authoriz'd Barbarity,

*Ch.* Colonel *Mervyn Touchet*, who, thro' the whole Course of this War, was employed in his Majesty's service, tells us, that, upon some of the *Irish* having kill'd, and wounded some poor *English* in the Passage near *Rathcool*, as he was conducting them to *Dublin* (the Colonel having before seiz'd some of the chief Commanders of that Rabble, and retaken a Booty from them) Sir *Arthur Loftus*, Governour of *Naas*, marched out with a Party of Horse, which was joined by another Party sent from *Dublin* by the Marquis of *Ormond*, "and killed such of the *Irish* as they met. But the most

\* See the Collection of Murders committed on the *Irish* in this Rebellion. London printed 1660. † Letter to the B. of *Cass*. See Mem.

" considerable

“ considerable slaughter, adds the Colonel, was in a great strength  
 “ of Firs seated on a Hill, where the <sup>6</sup> *People of several Villages*,  
 “ taking the Alarm, had sheltered themselves. Now Sir Arthur,  
 “ having invested the Hill, set the Firs on Fire on all sides, where  
 “ the *People*, being a considerable Number, were all burn’d or  
 “ kill’d. I saw, says he, the Bodys and the Firs still burning” —  
 And as for the Beginning of this Tragedy, it hath been ever confidently <sup>1</sup> averr’d by the *Irish Papists* (nor ever yet, that I have heard, disproved by their Adversaries) that the first considerable Massacre on either side in *Ulster*, was that bloody one, which was committed in one Night in *November 1641*, “ by the *English* and “ *Scotch* Forces in the Territory of *Carrickfergus* on above  
 “ three thousand Catholics, Men, Women, and Children, Inhabitants thereof, all innocent Persons, and at a Time, when  
 “ none of the Catholics of that Country had appear’d in Arms.”

*Diff.* Have you not read what Doctor *Borlace*, and *Walter Harris* Esq; have written of that Massacre?

*Gb.* <sup>1</sup> *Borlace*, and <sup>2</sup> *Harris*, two most industrious Revivers, and Improvers, of all the exploded Calumnies, that were ever heaped on the *Irish Papists* on this Occasion, do not deny the matter of Fact, viz. that this Massacre was perpetrated in *November 1641* on such a Number of innocent Catholics in that Territory; they only affirm (and that too without the least Proof) that it was not the first Massacre committed on either side; “ but  
 “ that it was done in Revenge for many Murders, that were committed by the *Irish* on the *Scotch* in the North.

*Diff.* And can you prove that it was not?

*Gb.* The Proof, that it was done in revenge for many Murders before committed by the *Irish* on the *Scotch* in the North lies entirely upon them; because that is the only Excuse they pretend to make for it; (as if, supposing their Assertion true, the Cruelties committed by the *Irish* on the *Scotch* in one Part of a Province, could excuse the committing of such a Massacre by the *English* on the innocent *Irish* in another Part:) But, if you recollect what I have already told you concerning the Massacres said to have been perpetrated by the *Irish* on the *English* at the very beginning of this Rebellion, you will find it prov’d to a Demonstration, that no

<sup>1</sup> “ In the Year 1641-2 many Thousands of the poor innocent People of the County of *Dublin*, shunning the Fury of the *English* Soldiers, fled into Thickets, and Firs, which the Soldiers did usually Fire, killing as many as endeavour’d to escape, or forced them back again to be burned, and the rest of the Inhabitants, for the most part, dyed of Famine.” Appendix to *Clar. Hist. of the Irish Rebel.* London printed by *Wilford*, 1720. <sup>2</sup> Collect of Murders committed on the *Irish*, Append. to *Clar. Hist. of the Ir. Reb.* <sup>3</sup> *Hist. of the Irish. Reb.* <sup>4</sup> Essay on the Improvement of the Hist. of *Ireland*.



Murders, at least none worthy of the Government's notice, had been committed by the *Irish* on either the *Scotch*, or *English*, in *Ulster*, even on the 23d of *December* following !

*Diff.* Yet, cruel as that Massacre at *Carrickfergus* was, there are many more cruel and unprovok'd related of the *Irish*.

*Ch.* In order to demonstrate to you at one general view, without shocking either you or my self by enumerating particular Acts of Cruelty on either side, that, (great as the Clamour of the *English* has been, and still is, against the *Irish* on this Account) they were themselves conscious, that the Cruelties, and Massacres, perpetrated by them on the *Irish*, far surpass'd those committed by the *Irish* on them, I shall only observe to you, that, both early in this Rebellion, and soon after it was suppress'd, when these Transactions were notorious, and fresh in every one's Memory, the *English* in Power both here, and in *England*, several Times rejected the Proposals of the *Irish* Chiefs, that there might be a publick and *Parliamentary Enquiry* made into the Massacres committed on both sides, and that the Authors of them might be punish'd according to Law : This, I say, the Enemies of the accused *Irish* Papists several times refused to consent to, tho' publickly, solemnly, and earnestly, challenged thereto by them.

*Diff.* How, Sir, several Times refused ?

*Ch.* Yes, Sir, several times. — As first, they refused it when requested in the <sup>1</sup> Remonstrance of the *Irish* from *Trim* in the Year 1642, presented by the Lord Vis. *Gormanstown*, and Sir *Robert Talbot*. Secondly, they refused it in the Year 1643, when after the Cessation the *Irish* Agents at *Oxford* laid before his Majesty a Memorial, wherein, after having petitioned that a *Free Parliament* might be call'd in *Ireland*, they add among other “ things, “ “ forasmuch as your Majesty's Catholic Subjects (of “ that Kingdom) have been taxed with many inhuman Cruelties, “ which they never committed, your Majesty's said Suppliants therefore, for their Vindication, and to manifest to all the World “ their Desire to have all such heinous Offences punish'd, and the “ Offenders brought to Justice, do desire, that in the next Parliament all notorious Murders, breaches of Quarter, and inhuman Cruelties, committed of either side, may be questioned “ in the said Parliament, if your Majesty should think fit, and such “ as shall appear to be guilty, to be excepted out of the said Act “ of Oblivion, and punished according to their Deserts.

*Diff.* But does not *Borlace* inform you, that the Agents of the Government of *Ireland*, who were then likewise in *England*, did

<sup>1</sup> See that Remonstrance. See *Borl. Hist. Irish Rebel.* “ *Borl. Hist. Irish Rebel.* fol. 191.

put in an Answer to that Memorial, and that to the Paragraph you have quoted out of it in particular they said, “ that it was  
 “ but a Flourish ! that the *Irish* ought to have submitted to the  
 “ Parliament then in being, and that the chief Delinquents, or  
 “ their Confederates, would be so prevalent a Faction in the next  
 “ Parliament, that they would be able, and, doubtless, would  
 “ clear all the Popish Party, how guilty soever, and condemn all  
 “ the Protestants, how innocent soever ?

*Ch.* The humble Proposal of the *Irish* Agents at that time to his Majesty was, first, that a *Free Parliament* might be called, and afterwards, that a *due Enquiry* might be therein made into the Murders and Cruelties committed of either side during this Rebellion ; now how a *Free Parliament* should have a *prevailing Faction* in it, that would condemn the *Innocent*, and acquit the *Guilty* ; or what other fairer Course could possibly be taken by any People to come at the Truth of this, or any other National Affair, is hard to be conceiv’d. As for the Parliament then in being in *Ireland*, it was notoriously (like that in *England*, with which it was in strict League) a prevailing Faction against the King ; and indeed against all the *Irish* demanding this Enquiry ; who by Attainders, and Outlawries, were then entirely excluded from their Seats in both Houses. But what Excuse can you make for the Accusers of these *Irish* Papists having so often caused to be rejected the Petitions of these People to his Majesty and Council in *England*, to have those Murders enquired into, even after the Restoration ? When these Papists were so far from being a prevailing Faction in the Parliament, which was call’d on the 8th of *May* 1661 in *Dublin*, that there was but “ one Roman Catholic in each House on the  
 “ first Day of the Session ; and, effectually to prevent the coming in of any more, and to turn out even these two, they made an order in the <sup>p</sup> House of Lords, that every Member thereof should receive the Sacrament from the Hands of their then Speaker, Primate *Bramhal* ; “ and <sup>q</sup> another in the Lower House, to administer the Oath of Supremacy to all it’s Members.”

*Diff.* But this was not done with a view to fix the Imputation of these Massacres on the *Irish* ; for I don’t find that any such Matter was then brought before them.

*Ch.* It was done with that View, and with another more profitable one, which they knew would result from it.

*Diff.* I don’t understand you.

*Ch.* The Business of that Parliament, at least, his Majesty’s Intention in calling it, was the *Settlement of Ireland* ; in order to which, it was proposed, that such of the *Irish* Papists (who had

<sup>n</sup> Id. ib. fol. 185.

<sup>o</sup> E. of Orrery’s State Let. v. 1. p. 35, 36.

<sup>p</sup> Bork Red, of *Irel.* p. 265.

<sup>q</sup> Orrer, Stat. Let. *ubi supra*.



come in upon the Peace of 1648) should be restored to their Estates, as to his Majesty, and that Parliament seem'd worthy of such Favour; out of which Number <sup>r</sup> those in particular were directly and expressly excluded by the *Irish* themselves, who were charged with, and convicted of, the committing, or encouraging, any of these Murders. Now those *English*, who by the sole gift of *Cromwell*, and the *Regicide Party*, had been, for some Years, possessed of these Estates of the *Irish*, (and of whom both Houses of that Parliament were almost intirely composed) in order effectually to prevent their having such enquiry carry'd on (which they still earnestly desired) in a Parliamentary way; and to put it, as much as they could, out of their Power to wipe off those Calumnies, which they had fix'd upon them, and which they then most industriously spread in both Kingdoms, thereby to render them odious in the Opinion of all good Men, and entirely unworthy of his Majesty's Grace and Favour; those *English* I say, at that Juncture, sitting in the Parliament of *Ireland*, took the methods before mentioned to exclude them for ever, and all those (of their Religion, from their Seats in both Houses; by which Means those poor People (whose Loyalty and strict adherence to his Majesty in his Exile<sup>s</sup> their greatest Enemies have witnessed to) were not only kept out of their Estates, but also had the Brand of Treason, and Murder, more deeply imprinted upon them.

*Diff.* But, what say you to the numerous Depositions given in upon Oath, to prove the Reality of these Murders, perpetrated by the *Irish Papists* on the *British Protestants*, during that Rebellion?

*Ch.* I say, that those Depositions were the very things, which these *Irish Papists* so often prest and challenged their Enemies to submit to a fair and public Scrutiny; and I must further say, that so honest, and so often repeated a Challenge, could not have been declined by those Enemies, thro' any other Motive, but a Conscience, that there was no truth in them.—Besides, the Characters of those Authors, who first published them, are such, and the Passages related in them so manifestly incredible, that I am amazed every Protestant of Sense is not ashamed to quote them.

*Diff.* Pray who are those Authors, whose Characters you are pleased to make so free with?

*Ch.* The first, and principal, in Malice, as well as Time, were, I think, Sir *John Temple*; and Doctor *Edward Borlace*; of whom, the former being a Privy Councillor, and Master of the Rolls in *Ireland*, during that Rebellion, was so much interested in the Condemnation of the *Irish*, both in point of Fortune, and Character, that that Consideration alone is sufficient to invalidate, or at

\* See the Artic. of the Peace of 1648; † *Orrer. State. Let.*

least render suspicious his own, and every other Testimony he hath brought against them ; and as for the latter, Doctor *Nalson* has past this severe Censure upon him : “ besides the nearness of his Relation to one of the Lords Justices (Sir *John Borlace*, whose Son he was) and his being openly and avowedly a *Faveur*er of the *Paction*, and of the *Men* and *Actions* of these times (the *English Rebels*) he is an Author of such strange inconsistency, that his Book is rather a *Paradox*, than an *History*.”

*Diff.* But what are the Passages sworn to in these Depositions, which you are pleased to call manifestly incredible ?

*Ch.* Not to trouble you, or my self, with the Recital of many of those *horrid Falshoods*, which have been sworn to in these Depositions, as they have been communicated to us in *Temple's*, and *Borlace's* lying, and infamous *Legends*, can any thing be more ridiculous, or incredible than the few following passages, which we find in them ? viz. “ u that a Proctor to a Minister, altho' he was diversely wounded, his *Belly ript up*, and his *Entrails taken out, and left above a Yard from him, bled not at all, until he was removed* ? That w an *Irish Rebel* thrust thrice at a young *Woman's naked Body* with his *Sword drawn*, and yet never pierced her *Skin* ? and that x hundreds of the *Ghosts* of the *Protstants* that were drowned by the *Rebels* at *Portnadown Bridge*, were seen wandering about that place, and heard crying for *Revenge*.”

*Diff.* And have these things been sworn to in those depositions ?

*Ch.* They have, and by pretended *Eye Witnesses* too. — And now, pray tell me, since passages thus manifestly false, and incredible, have been solemnly sworn to, on this Occasion, by pretended *Eye Witnesses*, what are we to think of so many other *Affidavits* in that *History*, (which are by far the greater Number) taken on *Hearsay*, or *private Belief* only, and from the † lowest, and most prejudiced of the People ?

*Diff.*

\* See *Nicholson's Irish Hist. Library*.      \* *Temple's History of the Irish Rebel*. p. 88.      w *Id. ib.* p. 124.      x *Id. ib.* p. 125.

† Some of these set only their Marks to their Examinations, and consequently swore whatever the *Clerks*, or their *Masters*, were pleased to read to them. But of those Examinations in general, the Earl of *Castle-Ross* positively affirms that, in them “ hundreds are mentioned, as then murdered, that lived many Years after. Nay some (adds his Lordship) even this Day (1684) alive, and that there were not the twentieth part of the Cruelties (committed on the *English*), of what is generally reported. *Mem.* p. 28, 29.

The Author of the Collection of some of the Murders committed on the *Irish*, printed London 1662, averreth as a known Truth, “ that at the Tryal of *Qualifications*, or \* *Court of Claims* at *Athlone*, where the Book



*Diff.* I shall be better prepared to answer that, and all your other Questions, when we meet next; but I must take the Liberty to tell you before we part, that you have to Day so zealously pleaded the Cause of the *Rebellious Irish Papists*, that I suspect you are not so good a *Protestant* at the Bottom, as I would have you to be.

*Ch.* I don't remember that I have advanced a single Fact in this Controversy, that has not the sanction of *Protestant Authority* to support it. And as for my own particular, as a Member of the *Church of Ireland*, by Law Established, I think myself obliged to embrace *Truth*, wherever I find it; and not only to protest against the Errors of *Papists*, but those of *Protestants* too, especially such Errors as are injurious to others, even to *Papists* themselves.

*Diff.* But you must own, at least, that such Sentiments, as you have express'd, of this Affair, were never yet entertained (and I hope they never will be) by any modern *Protestant Patriot*.

*Ch.* To shew you how much you are mistaken in that particular, I shall conclude by giving you the Sentiments of one of the best, and wisest *Protestant Patriots*, on this occasion, that either this, or any other Nation was ever blest with; " Granting (says Doctor Swift) Popery to have many more Errors than any other Branch of *Sectaries*, let us examine the *Actions* of both, as they have each affected the Peace of these *Kingdoms*, with allowance for the short Time which the *Sectarys* had to act in, who are in a Manner, but of Yesterday. The *Papists* in the Time of King James the II<sup>d</sup> used all endeavours to establish their *Superstition*; wherein they fail'd by the united power of *English Church Protestants*, with the Prince of Orange's Assistance. But it cannot be asserted that those biggotted *Papists* had the least design to depose or murder their King, much less to abolish *Kingly Government*; nor was it their Interest or Inclination to attempt either."

" On the other side, the *Puritans*, who had almost from the beginning of *Queen Elizabeth's* Reign been a perpetual Thorn in the Church's Side, jointly with the *Scotch Enthusiasts*, in the Book called the *BLACK BOOK*, which contained these *Examinations* being produced, the same was so falsified in most particulars, as well by the *Witnesses* themselves, who were pretended to have been duly sworn, as also by the *Persons said to have been murdered*, who were then, and are yet (says my Author) living, that the said Book was for Shame, layed aside, as no Evidence; and several Persons, who had taken *Examinations, touching these murders*, have frequently since acknowledged the falsity of the Matters publish'd by them, as being taken from the Information of those, who, by the hurry of the Time, and their own frights, were so transported, that they forgot all their *hours*, whom they left behind them, were murdered, and most of them, were afterwards found living. Pref.

\* Quotations relating to the *Black Book*.

“ Time of King Charles the First, were the principal cause of the  
 “ Irish Rebellion and Massacre, by distressing that Prince, and making it impossible for him to send over timely Succours. And, after that pious Prince had satisfied his Parliament in every single point complained of, the same *Sectaries*, by poisoning the minds and Affections of the People, with the most false and wicked Representations of their King, were able in the compass of a few Years to embroil the three Nations in a *Bloody Rebellion*, at the Expence of many thousand Lives ; to turn the *Kingly Power* into *Anarchy* ; to murder their Prince in the face of the World ; and (in their own Stile) to destroy the *Church Root and Branch*.”

“ The Account therefore stands thus. The *Papists* aimed at one *pernicious Act*, which was to destroy the *Protestant Religion*, wherein, by God’s Mercy, and the Assistance of our *Glorious King William*, they absolutely failed. The *Sectaries* attempted the three most *Infernal Actions*, that could possibly enter into the Hearts of Men forsaken by God ; which were, the murder of a most pious King, the destruction of *Monarchy*, and the *Extirpation* of the *Church* ; and succeeded in them *all*.”

*Diff.* Nothing can be more dangerous to this Kingdom, than the throwing out such invidious Reflections on any set of Protestants in it, whereby that Union, which ought ever to subsist among us, is apt to be destroyed, and that Alarm lessened, which cannot be too great and lively in us, from the strength and number of our common Enemies, the *Papists*, in Ireland.

*Ch.* As to the number of *Papists* in Ireland, the same *Great Patriot* asserts, “ that it is always magnified in proportion to the Zeal or Politics of the Speaker, or Writer ; but it is a gross *Imposition* upon common Reason (adds he) to terrify us with their Strength. For *Papery*, under the circumstances it lyes in this Kingdom, altho’ it be offensive and inconvenient enough, &c. is not properly dangerous in that Sense, as some would have us take it ; because it is universally hated by every Party of a different religious Profession. It is the contempt of the *Wise*, the best Topic for *Clamours* of designing Men ; but the real Terror only of *Fools*. The landed popish Interest in England far exceeds that among us, even in proportion to the Wealth and Extent of each Kingdom. The little that remains here is daily dropping into *Protestant Hands*, by purchase, or descent ; and that affected complaint of *counterfit Converts*, will fall, with the Cause of it, in half a Generation ; unless it be raised, or kept alive, as a continual Fund of *Merit* and *Eloquence*. The *Papists* are wholly disarmed. They have neither Courage,



“ Leaders, Money, or *Inclinations* to Rebel. They want every  
 “ Advantage, which they formerly possessed, to follow that trade,  
 “ and wherein, even with these Advantages they always miscarried.  
 “ They appear very *easy* and *satisfied* under the Connivance  
 “ which they enjoyed during the whole last Reign; nor ever scrupled  
 “ to *reproach* another <sup>b</sup> *Party*, under which they pretend to  
 “ have suffered so much Severity.” — Nay, Sir, do not knit  
 your Brows so angrily at me; the same excellent Writer goes further,  
 “ and in another <sup>c</sup> Place declares, “ that the *Papists*, in  
 “ general, of any Substance, or Estates, and their *Priests* almost  
 “ universally, are what we call *Whigs*, in the Sense, which by  
 “ that word is generally understood. They feel (says he) the  
 “ *Smart*, and see the *Scars* of their former *Wounds*; and very  
 “ well know, that they must be made a *Sacrifice* to the least Attempt  
 “ towards a Change.” — But I will here put an End to  
 a Conversation, which I find so very displeasing to you. Farewel.

<sup>b</sup> The Tory Ministry in Queen *Anne's* Reign.

<sup>c</sup> Humble Address to both Houses of Parliament, written about the Year 1724.

# APPENDIX.

## N U M B. I.

**I**N *Burnet's* Life of Bishop *Bedell*, p. 142. &c. Dublin printed 1736 by *Rhames* for *Gunn*, we find these words concerning the following Remonstrance: “ These (Rebels) of the County of  
 “ *Cavan* seem'd to see their Error, and apprehend their Danger;  
 “ so they came to Bishop *Bedell* as the fittest Man to interpose for  
 “ them—The Petition that they signed, and sent up to the *Lords*  
 “ *Justices* and the *Council*, was too well Penned to come from  
 “ those that set their Hands to it; it was drawn by the Bishop,  
 “ who put their Matter into his own Words; therefore I shall insert  
 “ it here, though it gives the best Colours to their Rebellion  
 “ of any of all their Papers that ever I saw.”

To the RIGHT HONOURABLE the  
LORDS JUSTICES and COUNCIL.

*The humble Remonstrance of the Gentry and Commonality of the  
County of CAVAN, of their Grievances, common with other  
Parts of the Kingdom of IRELAND.*

**W**HEREAS we his Majesty's Loyal Subjects of his Highness's Kingdom of Ireland, have of long Time Groaned under many grievous Pressures, occasioned by the rigorous Government of such placed over Us, as respected more the Advancement of their own private Fortunes, than the Honour of his Majesty, or the welfare of us his Subjects; whereof we, in humble manner, declared our selves to his Highness by our Agents sent from the Parliament, the Representative Body of this Kingdom; notwithstanding which, we find ourselves of late threatened with far greater, and more grievous Vexations, either with Captivity of our Consciences, our losing our Lawful Liberties, or utter Extirpation from our Native Seats, without any just Grounds given, on our parts, to alter his Majesty's Goodness so long continued unto us; of all which we find great cause of Fears in the proceeding of our Neighbour Nations, and do see it already attempted upon by certain Petitioners for the like Course to be taken in this Kingdom, for the effecting thereof in a Compulsory way; so as Rumours have caused Fears of Invasion from other parts, to the dissolving the Bond of mutual Agreement, which hitherto hath been held inviolable between the several Subjects of this Kingdom, and whereby all other his Majesty's Dominions have been inlinked in One. For the preventing therefore of such Evils growing upon Us in this Kingdom, We have, for the preservation of his Honour, and our own Liberties, thought fit to take into our Hands, for his Highness's Use and Service, such Forts, and other places of Strength, as coming into the possession of others might prove disadvantageous, and tend to the utter undoing of the Kingdom. And, We do hereby declare, that herein We harbour not the least Thought of Disloyalty towards his Majesty, or purpose any hurt to his Highness's Subjects in their Possessions, Goods, or Liberties, only we desire that your Lordships will be pleased to make Remonstrance to his Majesty for us of all our Grievances and just Fears, that they may be removed, and such a Course settled by the Advice of the Parliament of Ireland, whereby the Liberty of our Consciences may be secured to Us, and we eased of other Burthens in Civil Government: As for the Mischiefs, and Inconveniencies, that have already happened through the Disorder of the common sort of People against the English Inhabitants, or any other, We, with the Noblemen and



Gentlemen, and such others of the several Counties of this Kingdom are most willing and ready, to use our and their best Endeavours in causing *Restitution* and *Satisfaction* to be made, as, in part, We have already done.

An Answer hereunto is most humbly desired, with such present Expedition, as may by your Lordships be thought most convenient for avoiding the inconveniency of the *Barbarousness* and *Incivilty* of the *Commonality*, who have committed many *Outrages*, without any *Order*, *Consenting*, or *privity* of ours. All which we leave to your Lordships most grave Wisdom, and shall humbly Pray.

Burnett adds (ib.) “but all this came to nothing.” Altho’ we learn from *Borelace’s* History of this Rebellion, Fol. 47. that this Remonstrance was presented so early as the 6th of November 1641.

## N U M B. II.

THE following is taken from the *Mercurius Hibernicus*, written in the Year 1643, by Doctor Howel, who was the King’s Historiographer, a *Protestant*, and an *Englishman*; And whose account of the Rise, and Occasion, of this *Rebellion*, cannot therefore be suspected of any *Partiality* to the *Irish*.

“The *Irish* hearing how well their next Neighbours (*the Scots*) had sped by way of Arms, it filled them full of Thoughts and apprehensions of Fear and Jealousy, that the *Scot*, (than whom no Nation upon Earth is in that perfection, and with greater *Antipathy* hated by the *Irish*) would prove more *powerful* hereby, and consequently more able to do them *Hurt*, and to attempt ways to restrain them of that *Connivance*, which they were allowed in point of *Religion*.—Moreover, they entered into Consideration that they also had sundry *Grievances*, and *Grounds of Complaint*, both touching their *Estates* and *Consciences*, which they pretend to be far greater than those of the *Scots*. For they fell to think, that if the *Scot* was suffered to introduce a *New Religion*, it was Reason they should not be punished in the Exercise of their *Old*, which they *Glory* never to have altered. And, for *Temporal Matters*, wherein the *Scot* had no *Grievance* at all to speak of, the new *Plantations*, which had been lately afoot, to be made in *Connaught* and other places; the *concealed Lands*, and *defective Titles*, which were daily found out: The new *Customs*, which were imposed: And the *Incapacity* they had to any *Preferment* or *Office*, in *Church* and *State*, with other Things, they conceived to be *Grievances* of a far greater Nature, and that deserved *Redress* much more than any the *Scot* had. To this end they sent over *Commissioners* to attend this Parliament in *England*, with certain propositions; but they were dismissed hence with a short, and *unsavory Answer*: which

bred worse Blood in the Nation, than was formerly gathered. And this, with that leading *Case of the Scot*, may be said to be the first *Incitements* that made them *Rise*.

—Add hereunto, that the *Irish* understanding, with what *Acrimony* the *Roman Catholics* in *England* were proceeded against since the sitting of our Parliament, and what *further Designs* were on Foot against them, and not only against them, but for ranversing the *Protestant Religion*, which some *shallow brained Schismatics* throw into the same Scales with Popery, they thought it high time for them to forecast what should become of them, and how they should be handled in point of *Conscience*, when a new *Deputy* of the *Parliament's Election*, *Approbation* at least, should come over. Therefore they fell to consult of some means of *timely prevention*. And this was another Motive, and it was a shrewd one, which pushed on the *Irish* to take up *Arms*.

—Out of these Premises, it is easy for any common Understanding, *not transported with Passion*, and *private Interest*, to draw this conclusion; that they who complied with the *Scot* in his *Insurrection*; they who dismissed the *Irish Commissioners* with such a short unpolite Answer &c. may be justly said to have been the *true Causes* of the late *Insurrection* of the *Irish*."

#### N U M B. III.

**T**H E following is an Extract out of the *Brief Narrative*, printed and published by the *Irish Papists* in *London* in 1660, and addressed by *Peter Walsh* in 1664 to the Duke of *Ormond*, then Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, who was, almost from the beginning of this Rebellion, employed by his Majesty to suppress it; being Lieutenant General of his Majesty's Army in that Kingdom. As no Person could possibly be better acquainted than his Excellency with the Motives that stirred up the *Irish* to this Rebellion, so it cannot be supposed, that if this Narrative were not strictly true in every particular, it would ever have been addressed to him, by his *Creature* and *Dependent*, *Peter Walsh*; or at least, that said *Walsh* would have escaped his Grace's severest censure for it; which, however, 'tis plain he did, by his Grace's continuing his Favour and Patronage to him for many Years after.

#### —Audi alteram Partem.

"Before they (the *Irish*) fell from their Obedience to the Government, Sir *William Parsons*, one of the Lords Justices, at a *public Entertainment*, before many Witnesses, did positively declare, that within a Twelvemonth, *no Catholic* should be seen in *Ireland*. Many Hands were sought, and thousands were found to Subscribe <sup>d</sup> a *Petition*, tending to the introducing of a *severe Persecution* against *Catholics*, who were the far greater number of the

<sup>d</sup> See *Casslehaven's Mem.*



Inhabitants of *Ireland*; and the Menace of an *Invasion* of a *Scottish Army*, of which Men at that time did frequently discourse, bred *frightful apprehensions*. So as these, and other Grounds of Suspicion, being improved by such among them, whose particular Interests could be most favoured, and better advanced in *unquiet Times*, layed the *Foundation* of that Rebellion: But even these Men, at that time, when the Lords Justices did not appear to be prepared for Resistance, by their Remonstrance humbly begg'd the Grievances might be redressed, by the Advice of the two Houses of Parliament, then met at *Dublin*: But the Lords Justices, (who by their Words and Actions not only expressed their unwillingness to stop the further Growth of these *Distempers*, but meant to increase them, and were often heard to wish, that the Number were greater of such as became Criminal) by proroguing the Parliament made them desperate. However, the Nation by their Representatives in the two Days, which were only allowed them to sit, Husbanded their time so, as to leave to Posterity a Monument of their Aversion to such Attempts, by declaring, that those Men had Traiterously, and Rebelliously taken Arms; and offering to employ their Lives, and Fortunes, in reducing them to their obedience, if they might be permitted then to sit. But this was denied them: And, by a strange change from the antient Form of Government, a Parliament then sitting was prorogued; whereas our Ancestors, upon a far less occasion than quietting so high Distempers, were usually call'd upon to assist the King with their Advice. To this may be added, that the Marquis of *Ormond* proposed at the Council-Board, the raising of five thousand Men in the Space of three Weeks, if he might be authorized to do so; with which Strength he undertook to dissipate those, then, weak beginnings of the ensuing Mischiefs, and to prevent their farther Growth, but was refused it. So as thus far we may observe who they were, that widened the *Wound*, instead of Stanching the Blood.

This Foundation being then layed, that which at first was but a *spark*, and might be easily quenched, began to Flame: And Freedom of *Rapine* having suddenly drawn Numbers together, the unrepressed Conspirators became a formidable Army, and besieged *Tredah*, passing the River *Boyne*, which was the *Rubicon* of the *Pale*, and had in all former rebellions been maintained with their Blood; by those antient *English Colonies* planted there. Now it was, that the Times began to favour the Design of the Lords Justices, and their Party in the Council, which was as forward as they to Foment the *Distractions*. For the *Ulster Army* lying in the Bowels

See *Howell's Merc. Hibernic.* Remonst. of the County of *Cavan*, &c.  
 † See *Castle. Mem.* ‡ See *Berl. Hist.* of the *Irish Rebellion* † At-  
 terwards Duke, to whom this Narrative was Addressed by *Walsh* in 1664.

of the Country, the Forces being not yet come out of *England*, and the Natives themselves both unarmed and distrustful by the State, they were forced at first by their *regular Contribution* to prevent the *Desolation*, which would have followed their refusal to supply them. Hereupon such Contributors began to be looked upon<sup>1</sup> and characterized, as Men fallen from the Government; and a Party that was sent from *Dublin*, having killed at *Santry* (but three Miles distant from thence,) some innocent Husbandmen, among whom there were two *Protestants*, and carried their *Heads*, as in Triumph, to the City, the Neighbour-Inhabitants, alarmed thereat, had recourse to such Weapons as first came to Hand, and gathered in a *Body*. Whereupon the *Lords Justices* set forth a *Proclamation*, in the nature of a <sup>\*</sup> *safe Conduct*; by which these so in Arms, and Mr. *King* of *Clontarf* by special Name, had five Days respite to come in, and present their *Grievances*. But, before three Nights of the time prefixed were expired, Mr. *King's* <sup>1</sup> House was pillaged, and burned by the Direction of the *Lords Justices*. Not long after, supplies being arrived out of *England*, and the Siege of *Tredah* raised, and consequently the Force removed, which necessitated the Inhabitants to comply with the *Ulster Army*, the Nobility and Gentry of the *Pale* prevailed with Sir *John Read* (his Majesty's Sworn Servant, a stranger to the Country, unengaged, and an Eye-Witness of their proceedings, then upon his Journey to *England*,) to take the pains to present their *Remonstrance* to the late *King*, of ever blessed Memory, and to beg pardon for what they were thus compelled to Act. But he, poor Gentleman, coming to *Dublin*, was apprehended, and not concealing the Message intrusted with him, was put to the <sup>m</sup> *Rack*; the most part of the Questions then asked him in that *Torment* being no other, than such, as might lead him to accuse the *King* and *Queen*, to be Authors, and *Fomentors* of that Rebellion. Moreover, the two Houses of *Parliament* in *England*, for the better inducing the *Rebels* to repent of these wicked attempts, commended to the *Lords Justices*, according to the Power granted them in that behalf, to bestow his Majesty's *Gracious Pardon* <sup>n</sup> to all such, as within a convenient Time, &c. should return to their *Obedience*. But the *Lords Justices* (notwithstanding such Order, and his Majesty's *Gracious Pleasure* signified to that Effect) by their *Proclamation*, dated in *November 1641*, <sup>o</sup> limited such his Majesty's, and the *Parliament* of *England*, their fa-

<sup>1</sup> See *Temple's* Apology for this Massacre, Hist. of the *Irish* Rebellion.  
<sup>\*</sup> *Borl. Hist.* of the *Irish* Rebel. <sup>1</sup> See the same, and *Temp. Hist.* *Irish* Rebellion.  
<sup>m</sup> See *Castlebar. Mem.* <sup>n</sup> See *Borl.* and *Temp. Hist.* of the *Irish* Rebel.  
<sup>o</sup> See *Borl.* and *Temp. Hist.* of the *Irish* Rebellion.



*ourable and general Intentions*, to the Inhabitants of a few Counties, provided always they were *no Freeholders*; and afforded them no longer time than *ten Days* after the *Proclamation* to receive benefit thereby. But, notwithstanding these *Restrictions*, the Lord of *Dunsany*, Sir *John Neterville Patrick Barnwall*, of *Kilbrue*, and many others, who had notice of his Majesty's gracious Inclination towards the Nation, and the Parliament of *England*'s order in favour of them, submitted to the Lord Marquis of *Ormond*, then Lieutenant-General of his Majesty's Army, who recommended them to the *Lords Justices*, intimating, that the good Usage to be extended to them would have an influence on many others, and be a great Motive to quiet the Distempers, which then began to spread. But the *Lords Justices*, whose Design was not to be carryed on with *Mercy and Indulgence*, to prevent *Submissions, Imprisoned, and Indicted*, by a *Jury*, which did not consist of *Freeholders*, these so Submitting, and put the said Mr. *Barnwall*, of the Age of sixty-six Years, to the *Torture of the Rack*. This notwithstanding, the Noblemen and Gentry, inhabiting the Country, next to *Dublin*, applyed themselves humbly by their Letter to the *Lords Justices*; which, when the Earl of *Castlehaven*, a Nobleman of *English* Birth, (who freely before that time, had Access to *Dublin*,) came to present, he was made a Prisoner, Wherefore, when the Nation observed, that their Advice in *Parliament* was not only thought unnecessary, but themselves involved in a *general Distrust*,

That neither the *Parliament's*, nor the Marquis of *Ormond's*, offer to Suppress the Rebellion, would be accepted,

That the enforced complying of the *Nobility and Gentry* of the *Pale* with a powerful Army (which was Master of their *Lives*, and *Fortunes*) was imputed to them, as a *malicious Aversion* from the *English Government*,

That the Blood of innocent husbandmen was drawn, and the *Heads* of Men were grown an acceptable Spectacle in *Dublin*,

That the public Faith was broken, and Men's Houses (particularly enabled to claim benefit by it) pillaged and burned,

That all ways were obstructed, by which they might implore his Majesty's Mercy, and represent their Conditions,

That the favourable Intentions of the *Parliament of England*, and his Majesty's gracious Pardon, which was meant should extend to all, save such as were guilty of Blood, was so *Limited by them*, as *no estated Man* could receive benefit by it,

That those, who, notwithstanding these Restrictions, cast themselves freely upon his Majesty's Mercy, were imprisoned, indicted, and one of them Racked,

<sup>p</sup> See the same.

<sup>a</sup> See *Castlehav. Mem.*

That the <sup>4</sup> Earl of *Castle-Haven* might have found it a capital Crime to mediate in their behalf, if he had not made his Escape after *twenty Weeks Imprisonment*,

That the King's Sworn Servant was *Racked*; and his Ministers, whose Duty it was to have been zealous for the *Honour* of their Master, endeavoured to asperse it, and to render him, and his Royal Consort, *odious to his People*, by striving to extort from a *tortured Man*, some Testimony, by which they might be accused of raising, and Fomenting, that Rebellion;

When these, and many other Arguments of this kind, which (lest we should be too prolix) we omit, had convinced the *Catholics* of *Ireland*, that the *Lords Justices*, and that part of the *Council*, which adhered to them, became unfaithful to his Majesty, and had designed the *Ruin* of that *Nation*, and the *Extirpation* of their *Religion*,

That *Law*, which moves the Hand, by interposing it self to bear off a Stroke, aimed at the Head, convened an Assembly of those, who were exposed to such imminent Dangers, in which they modelled a Government, in order to their natural Defence, obliging themselves by such an *Oath* to his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, as well shewed their *Affection to the Crown*, and their *unalterable Resolutions* to maintain his Majesty's Rights, and to follow his Fortune.

Between these *divided Governments*, there have been *Battles Fought*, *Cities and Forts Besieged*, and much *Christian Blood spilt*; which will one Day lye at some Men's Doors; and who these are, the *Eternal Wisdom* best knows, and the Reader is left Free to determine.

#### N U M B. IV.

THE Protestant Editor of the following Collection (who betrays no small Enmity to the *Irish* Papists) in his Preface to *Clarendon's History of the Irish Rebellion*, London printed 1720, has the following Words concerning it; "who were the first Beginners of those barbarous Murders, and horrid Massacres, committed in that Kingdom, (*Ireland*) is easily determined by comparing the Accounts on both sides." Now I shall only desire the Reader to Mark the first Article of the ensuing Account, and to compare the whole with the other Account, which he will find printed with it in the Appendix of the aforesaid History; as also at the End of *Borlace's History* of this Rebellion.

<sup>4</sup> See the Particulars of his Escape from the Castle of *Dublin* in his Memoirs.



The 9th, and 10th, Acts agreed upon in the general Congregation of the *Roman Catholics*, held in *Kilkenny* on the 10th, 11th, and 13th, Days of *May 1642*, relating to these *Murders* are as follow.

Act the 9th. " Let a faithful Inventory be made in every Province of the *Murders, Burnings, and other Cruelties*, which are committed by the *Puritan Enemies*, with a Quotation of the Place, Day, Cause, Manner, and Persons, and other Circumstances, Subscribed by one of public Authority."

Act the 10th. " In every Parish let a faithful, and Sworn, Messenger be appointed, whereby such Cruelties, and other Affairs, may be written, and sent to the Neighbouring Places ; and likewise from one Province to another ; let such things be written for the Comfort, Instruction, and Carefulness of the People."

*Borlace's History of the Irish Rebellion*, fol. 123.

This Collection was first published in *London* in the Year 1662. The Author's frequent, candid, and public, Appeals to things openly transacted, and to Enemies themselves, then living, and well known, is a strong proof that what he relates is real matter of Fact ; and there is yet a stronger inducement to think it so, because it has never yet been proved to be otherwise : Nor, as far as I have learned, even attempted to be proved.

*A Collection of some of the Massacres, and Murders committed on the Irish in Ireland, since the 23d of October 1641.*

*County of Antrim.*

1641. ABOUT the beginning of *November*, the *English*, and *Scotch* Forces in *Knockfergus* murdered in one Night all the Inhabitants of the Territory of the Island of *Gee*, to the Number of about 3000 Men, Women, and Children, all innocent Persons, at a time when none of the *Catholics* of that Country were in Arms, or Rebellion. Note, that this was the first Massacre committed in *Ireland* of either side.

Mr. *Mac. Naghten* having built a small Fortress in the said County, to preserve himself, and his Followers, from Outrages, untill he understood what the cause of the then Rebellion was ; as soon as Colonel *Campbell* came near with part of the Army, he sent to let him know, that he would come to him with his Party, which

\* Sir *Audley Merwyn*, Sir *Robert Hannab*, (Lady *Mountrasb's* Father,) several General, and other, Officers, then, and many Years after, alive.

he

he did, and they were next Day murdered to the Number of 80 by Sir *John Clotworthy*, now Lord *Masareen's*, Soldiers.

About the same time, 100 poor Women, and Children, were murdered in one Night, at a Place call'd *Balliaghun*, by Direction of the *English*, and *Scotch* Officers commanding that County.  
*County of Derry.*

1641. Some 300 Men, Women, and Children of the *Irish*, having freely come under the Protection of the Garrison of *London-Derry*, were strip'd, plunder'd, and kill'd by the said Garrison.

1644. Mr. *Morris Mac. Daniel*, natural Son of the late Earl of *Antrim*, was hang'd at *Coleraihe*, by the Governour's Orders, notwithstanding he had Colonel *Michael Jones's* Pass.

*County of Down.*

1641. The Burgesses, and Inhabitants, of the Town of *Newry*, meeting the *English* Army on their March to Besiege the Castle of the said Town, were receiv'd into Protection; and, after Quarter given to the Garrison of the said Castle, the said Inhabitants, and the Soldiers of the said Garrison, to the Number of 500, and upwards, Men, Women, and Children, were brought on the Bridge of *Newry*, and thrown into the River, and such of them, as endeavour'd to Escape by Swimming, were murdered.

*County of Donegall.*

1641. About the 20th of *November* Sir *William Steward* commanded the Gentry, and Inhabitants of that County to join with his Forces in Opposition to the Rebels, and accordingly they came to the Place appointed, where Captain *Cunningham*, with a Party of the said Sir *William's* Regiment, under pretence of incorporating with them, fell upon the Inhabitants with his arm'd Soldiers, and kill'd very many of them; among whom were *Owen Mac Sweney*, *Morris O'Farey*, and *Donagh O'Callan*, Gentlemen of Quality, and Estates.

About the same time Captain *Fleming*, and other Officers of the said Regiment, commanding a Party, smothered to Death 220 Women and Children, in two Caves. And about the same time also the said Captain *Cunningham* murdered about 63 Women, and Children, in the Isles of *Ross*.

1641. The Governour of *Letter-kenny* gathered together on a Sunday Morning 53 poor People, most of them Women, and Children, and caused them to be thrown off the Bridge into the River, and drown'd them all.

1641. In *November*, one *Reading* murderd the Wife and three Children of *Shane O'Morghy* in a place call'd *Ballykenny* of *Ramaltan*, and after her Death cut off her Breasts with his Sword.

1641. 1642. The Garrisons of *Rapho*, *Drombo*, *Lifford*, and  
Castle



*Castle Raghaen*, slaughtered no less than 1500 of the poor neighbouring Inhabitants never in Arms; and three Persons were chiefly noted among them for their barbarous Cruelty, by Name *James Graham*, *Henry Dungan*, and *Robert Cunningham*, commonly call'd the killer of old Women.

1641. 1642. About 2000 poor Labourers, Women and Children, of the Barony of *Tirbu*, were massacred by the Garrisons of *Ballashany*, and *Donegal*; and Lieutenant *Thomas Poe*, an Officer among them, coming under colour of friendship to visit a Neighbour that lay sick in his Bed, and to whom he owed Money, carry'd a Dagger under his Cloak, which, whilst he seem'd to bow towards the sick Man in a friendly manner, asking how he did, he thrust it into his Body, and told his Wife her Husband should be no longer sick.

1650. In the Month of *June*, about 3000 Horse and Foot of his Majesty's Army being defeated near *Letter-kenny* by the *English* Rebels, adhering to *Cromwell*, most of the principal Officers of the said Party taken Prisoners in the Battle, were kill'd in cold Blood, by order of Sir *Charles Coote*, late Lord of *Mountrath*, notwithstanding they had Quarter from the Officers who took them Prisoners.

*County of Monaghan.*

1641. Capt. *Townsfley*, Governour of *Maghernecke*, kill'd four Labourers, and a Woman, being under Protection. Captain *Bromwell*, Governour of *Clunes*, meeting upon the Road with *Marc Charles O'Conolly*, a Gentleman living under his Protection, caused him to be shot to Death. The Soldiers of the Garrisons of *Dundalk* and *Trim*, kill'd no less than 500 innocent Persons, Women and Children in that County.

1641. 1642. The Armies of *Monroe*, and the *Lagan*, in their several Marches through that County, slaughtered about 2000 poor old Men, Women and Children.

1652. Colonel *Barrow* of *Cromwell's* Army, having taken an Island defended by Lieutenant Colonel *Patrick Mac Mahon* for his Majesty, after killing the said Lieutenant Colonel, and his Soldiers put all the Women and Children to the Sword, to the Number of 80, among whom a Child of six Years old, being spared by the Soldiers, was kill'd by order of the said Colonel *Barrow*.

*County of Cavan.*

*Marc de la Pool*, an *English* Gentleman, having taken Lands in that County some Years before the War, invited several of his Friends to come out of *England*, and live with him, who were all murdered in their Houses by the Army, (only the said *de la Pool* who was brought into the Town of *Cavan*,) and there hang'd for no other reason, but their being *Roman Catholics*, and living among

mong the *Irish*. Sir *Alexander Godren*, and his Lady, both *Scotch*, but *Roman Catholics*, each of them above 70 Years old, were plunder'd of their Goods, and strip'd naked; and all their Tenants, Servants, and all their Sons murdered. In the same Year the *English* Forces in this County drowned 600 Men Women and Children, in and about *Butler's Bridge*, no murders having being committed on any *Protestants* there, altho' in the Pamphlet lately printed, several murders are said to have been committed in that place.

*County of Mayo.*

In this County few Murders were committed by either side, tho' the Libel saith, that about 250 *Protestants* were murdered, whereof at *Bellicke* 220; whereas not one Person was murdered there, which the now \* Lady of *Mountrath* can Witness; her Ladyship, and Sir *Robert Hanna*, her Father, with many others, being retreated thither for security, were all conveyed safe to *Mannor-Hamilton*; and it is observable, that the said Lady and the rest came to Mr. *Owen O-Rorck's*, who kept a Garrison at *Drumahier* for the *Irish*, before they came to *Mannor Hamilton*, whose Brother was Prisoner with Sir *Frederick Hamilton*; and the said Mr. *Rorke*, having so many Persons of Quality in his Hands, sent to Sir *Frederick* to enlarge his Brother, and that he would convey them all safe to him; But Sir *Frederick*, instead of enlarging his Brother, hang'd him the next Day, which might have well provoked the Gentleman to Revenge, if he had not more Humanity than could be well expected upon such an Occasion, and in times of so great Confusion; yet he sent them all safe where they desired.

There was a Murder committed near the *Moyn* on 27 *Protestants*, which was all (and that too many) that was committed in that County, *Buchannan*, said to be buried alive, was kill'd in a private Quarrel, and he cut off his Adversary's Hand, before himself was kill'd.

*County of Galway, and Province of Connaught.*

1642. Serjeant *Redmund Bourk*, of the Lord of *Clonmorris's* Foot-Company, and two more were Hanged by the then Governor of the Fort of *Galway*, the said Lord being then of his Majesty's Army; for which Action no Reparation being given to his Lordship, he pretended it to be the occasion of his Revolt from the Lord Marquis of *Clanriccard*. A Party of the Garrison of the said Fort murdered six People in *Rinveel*, among whom one *Geffery Fitz-Thibot*, aged about 70 Years, and in a burning Fever, with his Wife, who was Old, were murdered in their Beds; which action provoked many of the Neighbours to stand on their Guard against the said Fort.

*Richard Bourk*, a Colonel in his Majesty's Army, had Quarter given him by some of Colonel *Coot's* Men, he being taken in a Skirmish



Skirmish between Colonel *Grace*, and some of *Cromwell's Party*, and being Prisoner for some time, Colonel *Henry Ingoldsbj* caused his Head to be cut off.

1652, 1653. It was a usual practice with Colonel *Stubbers*, then Governour of *Galway*, and others commanding in said County, to take the People out of their Beds at Night, and sell them for Slaves to the *Indies*, and by Computation sold out of said County above 1000 Souls.

*Murders committed in the said County of Galway on Protestants.*

1642. It is confess'd, that two *Protestants* were murdered in that County, whereof one was a Minister, as the Libel says, but it is most certain the Lord Marquis of *Clanriccard* caused the three Men, who murdered one of them, to be hang'd in Gibbets in three several Places; and, by his Lordship's Orders, Sir *Roger O-Shaghnessy* hang'd the two Cow-herds who murdered the other. Lord *Clanmorris* having declared against the said Fort for hanging his Serjeant, as above express'd, took Serjeant *Rowlright*, and two or three more of the Soldiers of said Fort, pillaging a Village near *Galway*, and hang'd *Rowlright*, and the other three.

A barbarous Murder was committed by one *Edward Alta*, an irreligious prophane Fellow of the County of *Mayo*, and his Accomplices, on some *Protestants* at *Sbruel*, a place meeting *Galway*, on about 30 Persons; and the Pamphleteer might well remember, that the neighbouring Gentry came with all Expedition to rescue the said *Protestants*; and that they did rescue the Bishop of *Killala* (who by the Pamphlet seems to have been murdered) and his Wife and Children, with most part of the said *Protestants*; and *Bryan Kilkenny*, a Fryar, then Guardian of the Abby of *Rofs*, near *Sbruel*, was of the first that made haste to that Rescue, and brought the said Bishop's Wife and Children, with several others of the said distress'd *Protestants*, to his Monastery, where they found as much Civility as was in the said Fryar's Power to give them for several Nights; until Mr. *Burke* of *Castle-Hacket* brought the said Bishop, his Wife, and Family, to his own House, where they wanted nothing he could afford them for some Weeks: The like being done by several other neighbouring Gentlemen to the rest of the said *Protestants*, until they were sent to places of security by the Lord Marquis of *Glanrickard's* Order; yet the said Fryar hath been these eight Years past kept a Prisoner for his function or Calling, without any other Crime laid to his charge, now being above 80 Years old. And it is observable, that in this County of *Galway* all the War Time, several *Protestant* Ministers, viz. Dean *York*, Mr. *Corroyn*, Mr. *Kelly*, and other Ministers, had their *Protestant* Flocks and Meetings without Interruption, living among the *Irish*.

*County of Roscommon.*

No Murders were committed by any Party in this County, only

five Persons at *Ballanafada* by one *Roger O-Connor*; and no Murders was committed at *Ballaleague* during the War, altho' in the Pamphlet the contrary is express'd; nor was any such Man as *William Stewart* known in that County, nor to have been murdered there; tho' the Abstract sets forth his being murdered in a most barbarous manner.

*County of Leitrim.*

1641. It was commonly known to all sides how cruel the Governour of *Mannor Hamilton* was in that County, how he usually invited Gentlemen to dine with him, and hang'd them after Dinner, and caused their Thighs to be broke with Hatchets before Execution. Also the said Governour, being in *Ulster* when the Rebellion broke forth, desired one Mr. *Iraght* (a Gentleman who profess'd much Friendship to him) to do him the Favour to Guide him in safety to *Mannor Hamilton* aforesaid, which the Gentleman did, and came near 100 Miles with him; but after being Friendly treated for some Days by the said Governour, he was hang'd without the least occasion; neither was the Gentleman in the Rebellion, but was hang'd least he should. The Libel says three *Protestants* were murdered in this County; but on due Examination it will be found, there was none.

*County of Sligoe.*

Here is none at this time who can give any exact Account of the Murders committed in this County, but one remarkable Murder in *Creane's-Castle* in the Town of *Sligoe*. The *Irish* had a party commanded by Major *Richard Burke*, (who after obtaining Quarter to march away) to the Number of about 200 were murdered, rendering the Castle. This Sir *Audley Mervyns* knoweth to be true.

*County of Dublin.*

1641. About the beginning of November \* 5 poor Men (whereof two were *Protestants*) coming from the Market of *Dublin*, and lying that Night at *Santry*, three miles from thence, were murdered in their Beds by one Captain *Smith*, and a party of the Garrison of *Dublin*, and their Heads brought next Day in Triumph into the City; which occasioned *Luke Netterville* and *George King*, and others of the Neighbours, to write to the Lords Justices to know the Cause of the said murder; whereupon their Lordships issued forth a Proclamation, that within five Days the Gentry should come to *Dublin* to receive Satisfaction, and in the mean while (before the five Days were expired) old Sir *Charles Coote* came out with a party, plundered and burned the Town of *Clontarffe*, distant two miles from *Dublin*, belonging to the said *George King*, nominated in the Proclamation, and kill'd 16 of the Townsmen and Women, and three sucking Infants. Which unexpected breach of the Proclamation (having deterr'd the Gentlemen from waiting of the

\* See Sir *John Temple's* Apology for this Massacre in his History of the *Irish Rebellion*.



Lords Justices) forced many of them to betake themselves to their Defence, and others to abandon their Houses.

In the same Week 56 Men, Women and Children, of the Village of *Bulloge* (being frightened at what was done at *Clontarffe*) took Boats and went to Sea, to shun the Fury of a party of Soldiers come out of *Dublin*, under the command of Colonel *Crafford*; but being pursued by the Soldiers in other Boats, were overtaken, and thrown over board. One *Russel*, a Baker in *Dublin*, coming out of the Country in company with Mr. *Archbold* of *Cloghran*, (who went to take hold of the said Proclamation of the Lords Justices) were both hang'd and quartered. In *March* a party of Horse, of the Garrison of *Donsoghlin*, murdered 7 or 8 poor People in Protection, Tenants of Mr. *Dillon* of *Hunttowne*, having quartered in their Houses the Night before, and receiving such Entertainment as the poor People could afford. About the same time a party of the *English*, quartered at *Mallahyde*, hang'd a Servant of Mr. *Robert Boyne's* at the Plough, and forced a poor Labourer to hang his own Brother; and soon after they hang'd 15 of the Inhabitants of *Swords*, who never bore Arms, in the Orchard of *Mallahyde*; they likewise hang'd a Woman bemoaning her Husband hang'd among them.

In the same Year, after Quarter given by Lieutenant Colonel *Gibson* to those of the Castle of *Carrigmain*, they were all put to the Sword, being about 350, most of them Women and Children; and Colonel *Washington*, endeavouring to save a pretty Child of 7 Years old, carry'd him under his Cloak, but the Child against his Will was kill'd in his Arms, which was a principal Motive of his quitting that Service.

1642. In *April* one *Nicholas Hart*, and 14 Labourers, going with Corn to the Market of *Dublin*, and having a Pass, were all murdered on the Road by a party commanded abroad by Lord *Lambart*. The same Day Mr. *Sarsfield* of *Lucan* sent his Groom to guide the Lord of *Gesil's* Troop, which the Fellow having perform'd, was knock'd on the Head for his Labour. The same day 18 Villages in Protection, the farthest within six Miles to *Dublin*, were plundered and burned, and to the Number of 400 Men, Women and Children, were cruelly massacred. About the same time a party of the Garrison of *Swords*, having brought in 30 poor Labourers, forced them to dig their own Graves, and then killed them: much about that time one *Bennet*, Sheriff of the County, kill'd 16 Men and Women, coming from the Market of *Dublin*. A party under the command of Colonel *Crafford* murdered 140 Women and Children in *Newcastle*, and *Coolmain*, being under Protection. Many thousands more of the poor innocent People of that County, shunning the fury of the Soldiers, fled into Thicket, of Firs, which the Soldiers would usually set on fire, killing as many as endeavoured to escape, or forced them back again to be bur-

ned, and the rest of the Inhabitants, for the most part, dyed of Famine.

*Note,* That no less than 12000 of the poor Inhabitants of that County were cruelly massacred the first Year of the War.

*County of Kildare.*

1641. Captain *Thomas Hues*, having summoned thirty three Contributors to meet him at *Hedgestowne*, caused them all to be murdered. The said *Hues* murdered Mrs. *Eustace*, Aunt to Sir *Robert Talbot*, 90 Years old, with two Gentlewomen that waited on her, after she entertained him friendly in her House. The Soldiers of *Clongow's Wood*, and *Rathcoffoy*, yielding upon Quarter, were convey'd to *Dublin*, and hang'd there, and upwards of 150 Women and Children were found in the said places murdered. It is well known, that the Commons of that County were, for the most part, destroyed, and slaughtered by the *English*, in so much, that there were not so many left living as could gather the twentieth part of the Harvest.

*County of Meath.*

1642. In April Mrs. *Elinor Taffe* of *Tullaghanoge*, sixty years old, and six Women more, were murdered by the Soldiers of the Garrison of *Trim*; and a blind Woman, aged 80 Years, was encompassed with Straw by them, to which they set Fire, and burn'd her. The same Day they hang'd two Women in *Kilbride*, and two old decrepid Men that beg'd Alms of them. In the same Year Mr. *Walter Dulin*, an old Man, unable to stir abroad many Years before the War, was kill'd in his own House by Lieutenant Colonel *Broughton's* Troopers, notwithstanding the said *Broughton's* Protection, which the old Man produced. Mr. *Walter Evers*, a Justice of the Peace and Quorum, an aged Man, and Bedrid of the Palsie long before the Rebellion, was carry'd in a Cart to *Trim*, and there hang'd by the Governour's Orders.

Many Plowmen were kill'd at *Philbertstowne*. Forty Men, Women, and Children in Protection, reaping their Harvest in *Bonestown*, were kill'd by a Troop of the said Garrison; who upon the same Day kill'd Mrs. *Alfon Read* at *Donsagblin*, being 89 Years old, and 40 Persons more, most of them Women and Children, shunning the fury of the said Troop, were overtaken and slaughter'd. About 70 Men, Women, and Children, Tenants to Mr. *Francis Mc Ovoy*, and under Protection, were kill'd by *Greenwill's* Soldiers, and 160 more in the Parish of *Rathcoare*, whereof there was one aged Couple blind 15 Years before. Captain *Sandford*, and his Troop, murdered in and about *Mulhuffey* upwards of 100 Men, Women, and Children, under Protection, and caused one *Connor Bressan* to be stuck with a Knife into the Throat, and so bled to Death: And one *Eleanor Cusack*, 100 Years old, was tyed about with lighted Matches, and so tortured to Death in *Clonmoghan*.



*maghan. James Dowlan*, about 100 Years old, *Donagh Comen*, *Darby Dennis*, *Roger Bolan*, and several other Labourers, and Women, to the Number of 160, making their Harvest, were slaughtered by the Garrison of *Trim*.

Mr. *Barnwell* of *Tobertinian*, and Mr. *John Hussey*, innocent Persons, were hang'd at *Trim* by old Sir *Charles Coote's* party. *Gerrald Lynch* of *Donower*, aged 80 Years, was kill'd by Troopers of *Trim*, being in Protection. Mr. *Thomas Talbott* of *Crawlfown*, about 80 Years old, being protected, and a known servitor to the Crown, was kill'd at his own Door by some of Captain *Morroe's* Troop. About the Month of *April* the Soldiers under the said *Greenvill's* Command kill'd in and about the *Navan* 80 Men, Women, and Children, who lived under Protection. Captain *Wentworth* and his Company, garrisoned at *Dumo*, kill'd no less than 200 protected Persons in the Parish of *Donamora*, *Slane*, and Barony of *Margellin*, and *Oumorein*, the Town of *Armdulchan*, *Kingstown*, and *Harriston*, all protected Persons.

Sir *Richard Greenvill's* Troop kill'd 42 Men, Women, and Children, and 18 Infants at *Doramstown*. A Woman under Protection was by Captain *Murroe's* Soldiers put into the Stock of a Tuck Mill, and so tuck'd to Death in the Town of *Steedalte*. Lieutenant *Ponsonby* put two aged protected Persons to Death at *Downastone*, each of them about 80 Years old. Captain *Murroe* caused about an hundred protected Persons, Men, Women, and Children to be put to Death in the Barony of *Dooleek*, and Lieutenant *John Tench* kill'd a protected Person 70 Years old, near *Dooleek*. Mr. *Patrick White*, Son and Heir of Mr. *White* of *Clangill*, in protection, was taken out of his Bed, and knock'd on the Head by Lieutenant *Luaton* of the Garrison of *Trim*. Many thousands of the poor Inhabitants of this County were destroy'd in the Firs, as those in the County of *Dublin*, and the rest for the most part perish'd with Famine.

#### *County Westmeath.*

1642. About the latter End of *March* Mr. *Christopher McGawly*, notwithstanding the Protection of the Duke of *Ormond*, was kill'd in his own House, with two of his Servants, by a party of the *English* Army marching to *Athlone*, who laying the Protection on the said *McGawly's* Breast, shot him through his Protection, to try whether it was proof against a Bullet. Mrs. *Ellis Dillon* of *Killenennin*, having the Lords Justices protection for herself and Tenants, their Wives and Children, were kill'd by Soldiers under Sir *Michael Earnley's* Command.

#### *County of Lowth.*

1641. In the Month of *February* about 300 poor People, Men, Women and Children, were cruelly slaughtered in the Wood of *Derruer* by a party of the Garrison of *Dundalk*, and *Tredath*. A-

about the beginning of *March* about 300 Farmers and Labourers, never in Arms, with their Wives and Children, were massacred by a party of the Garrisons of *Dundalk*, and *Tredath* in *Redmoore* of *Braganstown*. About the same time Captain *Charles Townsly*, and Lieutenant *Faithful Townsly*, with a part of the *English* Army, and Garrison of *Dundalk*, slaughter'd at *Dunmogh* 220 Inhabitants of several Villages, commanded by the Officers of the said Army to live in that place for their greater security. A party of the said Garrison of *Tredath* and *Dundalk* killed above 200 persons in the Castle of *Reaghstown* after Quarter given, One *Anthony Townsly* hang'd Mr. *Dromgole* of *Dromgolestown* at his own gate. The said *Townsly* hang'd upwards of 30 poor Men and Women, going to the Markets of *Dundalk* and *Tredath*, on a Tree, commonly called *Eight Mile Bush*, midway between the said Towns.

1642. A party of Horse and Foot of the Garrison of *Tredath*, kill'd and burn'd in the Firs above one Hundred and sixty Men, Women and Children, of the Inhabitants of *Termorfeighlin*, within three miles of *Tredath*: No less than one Thousand of the poor Inhabitants of that County, tho' they were not taxed with any Murders committed on the *Protestants*, according to their own Abstract, were massacred.

*County of Wicklow.*

*October*, 1641. Three Women, whereof one Gentlewoman big with Child, and a Boy, were hang'd on the Bridge of *Neuragh* by command of Sir *Charles Coote* in his first march to that County, and caused his Guide to blow into his Pistol, and so shot him dead. He also hang'd a poor Butcher on the same march call'd *Thomas Mac William*. Mr. *Den Conyam* of *Glanely*, aged, and unable to bear Arms, was roasted to death by Captain *Gee* of Colonel *Craford's* Regiment: and in the marches in 41, 42, and 43, the *English* Army kill'd all they met in this Country, tho' no Murders are charged in the said County to be committed on *Protestants* by the Abstract. In the Usurper's time Captain *Barrington*, garrison'd at *Arklow*, murdered *Donagh O Dayle* of *Killearrow*, and above 500 more protected by himself; and it is well known that most of the Commonality were murdered.

*County of Kilkenny.*

1641. The *English* Soldiers of the Garrison of *Ballenakil* burned an old Woman of 90 Years old in her own House in *Idough*. 1642 The said Soldiers massacred one Hundred and eighty Men, Women, and Children, who were cutting their Corn, near the said Garrison. They drag'd Mr. *Thomas Shee*, an innocent Person, out of his own House, with five of his Servants, and hang'd them all at *Ballenakil*.

*County Tipperary.*

1641. On the 24th of *October* one *Browne* and Captain *Pease*



by murdered eleven Men, Women, and Children, in their own Houses at *Golden Bridge*, before any of the *Catholics* took up arms in that County. About the same time the said Captain *Peasely* going through *Cloneully*, *Philip Ryan*, a peaceable Gentleman, and owner of the said Town, came out of his House to salute the Captain; who pull'd out his Pistol and shot the poor harmless Gentleman dead at his own Door.

*Note*, That these two murders occasioned the rising of the Gentry and Inhabitants of that County.

One *John Wise* of *Ballyowen*, an *English* Soldier, came several Times in Woman's Attire upon the Road, and committed divers murders upon simple Country People coming from the Market.

*County Clare.*

1644. Forty Families in protection were murdered by the Garrison of *Inchicronan*. 1646. Several residing near *Bunratty* were murdered by the Soldiers of that Garrison under command of Lieutenant *Adams*.

*County Cork.*

1641. In *Condon's* Country above 300 Labourers, Women, and Children were murdered by some of the now Earl of *Orrery's* Soldiers. In the said County, among others, they gelded one *Denis Downy*, and pull'd out one of his Eyes, and sent him in that posture to his Wife. Fifty six Persons, or thereabouts, were brought Prisoners to *Castle Lyons*, most of them Labourers, who did never bear Arms) were put into a Stable, and the Women in that Garrison at Night fired their Beards, and the Hair of their Heads, which so disfigured them, that their nearest Friends could not know them next Day, when they were hanging.

1642. In the same County 355 Persons, Men, Women, and Children, were murdered with Clubs and Stones, being in protection. Mr. *Henly*, an *English* Gentleman, dwelling in *Rooshe's* Country, but a *Roman Catholick*, had his Wife and Children barbarously strip'd, and most of his Tenants inhumanly murdered by adjacent *English* Garrisons, he the said *Henly*, or his Tenants, being never in Arms: And such cruelty was used, that they stab'd young Infants, and left them so half dead on their Mother's dead Carcasses. In the said *Henly's* Town, and the adjacent Villages, at that time, there were murdered about 900 Labourers, Women, and Children.

1643. *Cloglegh*, being garrisoned by the *Irish*, surrendered upon Quarter of Life to Sir *Charles Vavasor*, were all inhumanly murdered, and the Hearts of some of them pull'd out, and put into their Mouths; and many other massacres were committed the same time there on Women and Children. At *Lislee* 24 Men in protection were murdered by Colonel *Mynn's* Soldiers. At *Bellaugher* the same Year *Teig O Mungan*, and *David Broge*, blowing by com-

mand into Pistols, were shot to Death by some of Captain *Bridge's* Men, and eight poor Labourers more kill'd by them, being in protection, and then employ'd in saving some Harvest of *English*.

1642. At *Clogheulty* about 238 Men, Women, and Children were murdered, of which Number seventeen Children were taken by the Legs by Soldiers, who knocked out their Brains against the Walls. This was done by *Pborbis's* Men, and the Garrison of *Bandon Bridge*. At *Gairanne*, near *Ross*, *Connor Kennedy*, who had protection for himself and his Tennants to save their Harvest, were murdered by the said Garrison of *Ross* as they were ditching about their Corn.

1641. At *Bandon Bridge*, the Garrison there tyed 88 *Irishmen* of the said Town Back to Back, and threw them off the Bridge into the River, where they were all drown'd. *Patrick Hackett*, Master of a Ship in *Waterford*, the Dutcheß of *Ormond* being desirous to be convey'd by him to *Dublin*, after leaving her safe with her Family and Goods there, the Lords Justices and Duke of *Ormond* gave him a pass for his safe Return, who being driven by a Storm into *Dongarvan*, the said Master and his Men were hang'd by direction of the Commander in chief there, notwithstanding he produced his said pass. The *English* party of this County burn'd *O Sullivan Beare's* House in *Bantry*, and all the rest of that County, killing Man, Woman, and Child, turning many into their Houses, then on Fire, to be burned therein: And among others *Thomas De Bucke*, a Cooper, about 80 Years old, and his Wife, being little less; and all this was done without provocation, the said *O Sullivan* being a known Reliever of the *English* in that Country. Observe that this County is not charged in the late Abstract with any Murders.

*County Waterford.*

1641. In *Decy's* Country the neighbouring *English* Garrisons of the County of *Corke*, after burning and pillaging all that Country, they murdered above three thousand Persons, Men, Women, and Children, before any Rebellion began in *Munster*, and led 100 Labourers Prisoners to *Caperquine*, where being tyed by couples, were cast into the River, and made sport to see them drown'd. Observe that this County is not charg'd with any Murders to be committed on *Protestants*.



A LETTER from a Gentleman in SCOTLAND, to his Friend at LONDON, who desir'd a particular Account of the Business of GLENCO.

Edinburgh, April 20, 1692.

S I R,

THE Account you desir'd of that strange and surprizing massacre of *Glenco*, take as follows.

*Mac-jan Mac-donald*, Laird of *Glenco*, a Branch of the *Mackdonalds*, one of the greatest Clans or Tribes in the North of Scotland, came with the most considerable Men of his Clan to Colonel *Hill*, Governour of *Fort William* at *Inverlochy*, some few Days before the expiring of the Time for receiving the Indemnity appointed by Proclamation, which, as I take it, was the first of *January* last, intreating he would administer unto him the *Oaths*, which the foresaid Proclamation required to be taken, that so submitting himself to the Government, he might have his protection. The Colonel received him with all Expressions of Kindness, nevertheless shifed the administering the *Oaths* to him; alledging, that by the Proclamation it did not belong to him, but to the Sheriffs, Bailiffs of Regalities, and Magistrates of *Burghs*, to administer them. *Mac-jan* complaining that by this disappointment he might be wrong'd, the Time being now near the expiring, and the weather so extreme, and the ways so very bad, that it was not possible for him so soon to reach any Sheriff, &c. got from Colonel *Hill*, under his Hand, his Protection; and withal he was assur'd, that no Orders from the Government against him should be put into execution, until he first were advertis'd, and had time allow'd him to apply himself to King or Council for his own Safety. But the better to make all sure, (tho' this might have seem'd Security enough for that time) with all dispatch imaginable he posted to *Inverary*, the chief Town of *Argyleshire*, where he found Sir *Collin Campbell* of *Ardkinlis*, Sheriff of the Shire, and crav'd of him the Benefit of the Indemnity, according to the Proclamation, he being willing to perform all the Conditions requir'd. Sir *Collin* at first scrupled to admit him to the *Oaths*, the Time, which the Proclamation did appoint, being elapsed by one Day, alledging it would be of no use to him then to take them: But *Mac-jan* represented, that it was not his Fault, he having come in time enough to Colonel *Hill*, not doubting but he could have administered the *Oaths* to him, and that upon his Refusal he had made such haste to *Inverary*, that he might have come in time enough, had not the Extremity of the Weather hinder'd him; and even as it was, he was but one Day after the time appointed; and that it would be very unbecom-

ing the Government to take Advantage of a Man's coming late by one Day, especially when he had done his utmost to have come in time. Upon this, and his threatening to protest against the Sheriff for the severity of this Usage, he administered to him and his Attendants the Oaths, *Mac-jan* depending upon the Indemnity granted to those who should take them; and having so done he went home, and lived quietly and peaceably under the Government, till the day of his Death.

In *January* last a party of the Earl of *Argyle's* Regiment came to that Country; the design of their coming was then suspected to be to take course with those who should stand out, and not submit, and take the Oaths. The Garrison of *Inverlochy* being thronged, and *Glenco* being commodious for Quarters, as being near that Garrison, those Soldiers were sent thither to Quarter; they pretended they came to exact Arrears of Cess and Hearth-Money, (a Tax never known in *Scotland* until laid on by the Parliament 1690, after the Parliament of *England* had eas'd themselves of it.) E'er they entered *Glenco* that Laird or his Sons, came out to meet them, and asked them, if they came as Friends, or as Enemies? The Officers answer'd, as Friends; and gave their parole of Honour, that they would do neither him, nor his concerns, any Harm; upon which he welcomed them, promising them the best Entertainment the place could afford. This he really perform'd, as all the Soldiers confess. He and they lived together in mutual Kindness and Friendship fifteen Days or thereabouts; so far was he from fearing any hurt from them. And the very last Day of his Life he spent in keeping Company with the Commander of that Party, Captain *Campbell* of *Glenlyon*, playing at Cards with him till six or seven at Night, and at their parting mutual protestations of Kindness were renewed. Some time that very Day, but whether before or after their parting, I know not, Captain *Campbell* had these Orders sent him from Major *Duncanson*, a Copy whereof I here send you.

Ballacholis, Feb. 12, 1692.

S I R,

**Y**OU are hereby ordered to fall upon the Rebels, the Mac Donalds of *Glenco*, and put all to the Sword under Seventy. You are to have special care, that the Old Fox and his Sons do upon no Account escape your Hands. You are to secure all the Avenues, that no Man escape. This you are to put in Execution at five o'Clock in the Morning precisely, and by that time, or very shortly after it, I'll strive to be at you with a stronger party, if I do not come to you at five, you are not to tarry for me, but to fall on. This is the King's SPECIAL COMMAND, for the Good and Safety of the Country, that these Miscreants may be cut off Root and Branch. See that this be put into Execution without Feuder Favour, else you may



may expect to be treated as not true to the King or Government, nor a Man fit to carry a Commission in the King's Service. Expecting you will not fail in the fulfilling thereof, as you love your self. I subscribe these with my Hand,

Robert Duncanson.

*For their Majestie's Service, to Captain Robert Campbell of Glenlyon.*

Duncanson had received Orders from Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton, which were as follows.

Ballacholis, Feb. 12, 1692.

S I R,

**P**ER Second to the Commander in Chief, and my Colonel's Orders to me, for putting in Execution the service commanded against the Rebels in Glenco, wherein you, with the Party of the Earl of Argyle's Regiment under your Command, are to be concern'd: You are therefore forthwith to order your Affairs so, as that the several Posts already assigned by you, be by you and your several Detachments fallen in Action with, precisely by five o'Clock to Morrow Morning, being Saturday; at which time I will endeavour the same, with those appointed from this Regiment for the other Places. It will be most necessary you secure those Avenues on the South side, that the Old Fox, nor none of his Cubs get away. The Orders are that none be spared from 70, of the Sword, nor the Government troubled with Prisoners. This is all until I see you. From

Your humble servant.

James Hamilton.

*Please to order a Guard to secure the Ferry and the Boats there; and the Boats must be all on this side the Ferry, after your Men are over.*

*For their Majestie's service, for Major Robert Duncanson of the Earl of Argyle's Regiment.*

**T**HE Soldiers being disposed five, or three in a House, according to the Number of the Family they were to assassinate, had their Orders given them secretly. They had been all received as Friends by those poor People, who intended no Evil themselves, little suspected that their Guests were designed to be their Murderers. At five o'Clock in the Morning they began their bloody Work, surprized and butchered thirty eight Persons, who had kindly received them under their Roofs. Mac-jan himself was murder'd, and is much bemoan'd; he was a stately well favour'd Man, and of good Courage and Sense: As also the Laird

*Archintrikin*, a Gentleman of more than ordinary Judgment and Understanding, who had submitted to the Government, and had Colonel *Hill's* protection in his pocket, which he had got three Months before. I cannot without horror represent *how that a boy about eight Years of Age was murdered; he seeing what was done to others in the House with him, in a terrible fright run out of the House, and espying Captain Campbell, grasp'd him about the Legs, crying for Mercy, and offering to be his Servant all his Life.* I am informed Captain Campbell inclined to spare him; but one *Drummond*, an Officer, barbarously run his Dagger through him, whereof he died immediately. The rehearsal of several particulars and circumstances in this tragical story, makes it appear most doleful; as that *Mac-jan* was killed as he was drawing on his Breeches, standing before his Bed, and giving orders to his Servants for the good Entertainment of those who murder'd him; while he was speaking the words, he was shot through the Head, and fell dead in his Ladies Arms, who through the grief of this, and other bad usages she met with, died the next Day. It is not to be omitted, that most of those poor People weye killed when they were asleep, and none was allow'd to pray to God for Mercy. Providence ordered it so, that that Night was most boisterous; so as a party of four hundred Men, who should have come to the other end of the *Glen*, and begun the like work at the same hour, (intending that the poor Inhabitants should be inclosed, and none of them escape) could not march at length, until it was Nine o'Clock, and this afforded to many an opportunity of escaping; and none were killed but those in whose Houses Campbell and *Glenlyon's* Men were quartered, otherwise all the Male under seventy Years of Age, to the number of two hundred had been cut off, for that was the Order; and it might have been easily executed, especially considering that the Inhabitants had no Arms that time; for upon the first hearing that the Soldiers were coming to the *Glen*, they had conveyed them all out of the way: For though they relyed on the promises which were made them for their safety; yet they thought it not improbable that they might be disarmed. I know not whether to impute it to a difficulty in distinguishing the difference of a few Years, or to the fury of the Soldiers, who being once glutted with Blood, stand at nothing, that even some above 70 Years of Age were destroy'd. They set all the Houses on fire, drove off all the Cattle to the garrison of *Inverlochy*, viz. 900 Cows, 200 Horses, and a great many Sheeps and Goats, and there they were divided amongst the Officers. And how dismal may you imagine the case of the poor Women and Children was then! it was lamentable, past expression; their Husbands, and Fathers, and near Relations were forced to flee for their Lives; they themselves almost stript, and nothing left them, and their Houses being burnt, and not one House nearer than six miles,



miles, and to get thither they were to pass over Mountains, and wreaths of Snow, in a vehement storm, wherein the greatest part of them perished thro' *hunger and cold*. It fills me with horror to think of the *poor stript Children and Women, some with Child, and some giving suck, wrestling against a storm, in Mountains and heaps of Snow, and at length to be overcome, and give over, and fall down, and dye miserably.*

You see in *Hamilton's* order to *Duncanson*, there's a special caution, *That the old Fox nor none of his Cubs should escape*; and in *Duncanson's* order to Captain *Campbell* of *Glenlyon*, *That the old Fox nor none of his Sons escape*; but notwithstanding *all this wicked caution*, it pleased God that the two young Gentlemen, *Mac-jan's* Sons escaped. For it happened, that the younger of these Gentlemen trusted little to the fair promises of *Campbell*, and had a more watchful Eye over him than his Father and Brother, who suffered themselves by his reiterated Oaths to be deluded into a belief of his integrity; he having a strong impression upon his Spirit, that some mischievous design was hidden under *Campbell's* specious pretences, it made him, after the rest were in Bed, remain in a retired Corner, where he had an advantageous prospect into their Guard. About midnight perceiving several Soldiers to enter it, this increased his jealousy; so he went and communicated his fears to his Brother, who could not for a long time be persuaded there was any bad design against them, and asserted, that what he had seen, was not doubling their Guards in order to any ill design, but that being in a strange place, and at a distance from the Garrison, they were to send out Sentinels far from the Guard, and because of the extremity of the weather relieved them often, and that the men he saw could be no more than these. Yet he persisting to say, that they were not so secure, but that it was fit to acquaint their Father with what he had seen: he prevailed with his Brother to rise and go with him to his Father, who lay in a Room contiguous to that they were in. Though what the younger Son alledged made no great impression on his Father, yet he allowed his Sons to try what they could discover. They well knowing all skulking places there, went and hid themselves near to a Sentinel's post, where instead of one they discovered eight or ten Men; this made them more inquisitive, so they crept as near as they could hear one say to his fellows, that *he liked not this Work, and that had he known of it, he would have been very unwilling to have come there; but that none except their Commanders knew of it till within a quarter of an hour.* The Soldier added, that he was willing to fight against the Men of *Glen*, but it was base to murder them. But to all this was answered, *All the blame be on such as gave the Orders; we are free, being bound to obey our Officers.* Upon hearing of these words, the young gentlemen retired as quickly and as quietly as they could towards the House

House to inform their Father of what they had heard ; but as they came nigh to it they perceived it surrounded, and heard Guns discharged, and the People shrieking ; whereupon, being unarm'd, and totally unable to rescue their Father, they preserved their own lives in hopes yet to serve their King and Country, and see justice done upon those *bell-hounds*, treacherous murderers, the *shame* of their *Country*, and *disgrace* of mankind.

I must not forget to tell you, there are two of these Officers, who had given their *parole of Honour* to *Mac-jan*, who refused to be concerned in that *brutal Tragedy*, for which they were sent *prisoners* to *Glasgow*, where, if they remain not still, I am sure they were some Weeks ago.

Thus, Sir, in obedience to your Commands, *I have sent you such an account as I could get of that monstrous and most inhuman massacre of the Laird of Glenco, and others of his Clan.* You desire some *proofs of the truths of this story*; for you say there are many in *England* who cannot believe such a thing could be done, and *publick Justice not executed upon the Ruffians*: for they take it for granted, that *no such order could be given by the Government*; and you say, they will not believe it without a downright demonstration. Sir, as to the *Government* I will not meddle with it; or whether these Officers who murdered *Glenco*, had such orders as they pretended from the *Government*; the *Government knows that best*, and how to vindicate their own *Honour*, and punish the *murderers*, who pretended their Authority, and still stand upon it. But as to the matter of fact of the murder of *Glenco*, you may depend upon it as certain and undeniable. It would be thought as strange a thing in *Scotland* for any man to doubt of it, as of the *Death of my Lord Dundee*, or, with you, that the *Duke of Monmouth lost his Head*. But to put you out of all doubt, you will e'er long have my *Lord Argyle's Regiment* with you in *London*, and there you may speak with *Glenlyon* himself, with *Drummond*, and the rest of the actors of that *dismal Tragedy*; and on my life there is never a one of them will deny it to you; for they know it is notoriously known all over *Scotland*, and it is an admiration to us, that there should be any one in *England* who makes the least Doubt of it. Nay, *Glenlyon* is so far from denying it, that he brags of it, and justifies the Action publickly: He said in the *Royal Coffee-House* in *Edinburgh*, that he would do it again, nay that he would stab any Man in *Scotland* or *England* without asking the cause, if the King gave him orders, and that it was every good Subject's Duty so to do; and I am credibly informed, that *Glenlyon* and the rest of them have address'd themselves to the Council for a reward for their good service in destroying *Glenco*, pursuant to their Orders.

Then



There is enough of this mournful subject; if what I have said satisfy you not, you may have what farther proof, and in what manner you please to ask it.

S I R.

*Your humble servant, &c.*

N. B. *That the Gentleman to whom this Letter was sent, did on Thursday, June 30, 1692. when the Lord Argyle's regiment was quartered at Brentford, go thither, and had this story of the Massacre of Glenco from the very men who were the actors in it: Glenlyon and Drummond were both there. The Highlander, who told him the story expressing guilt, which was visible in Glenlyon, said, Glenco hangs about Glenlyon Night and Day, and you may see him in his Face. I am told likewise, that Sir John Lowther refused to accept the Place of Lord Advocate of Scotland, unless he might have Liberty to prosecute Glenlyon, and the rest of the Murderers of Glenco, which not being granted, James Stuart (who was forfeited for Treason by K. C. 2. and since knighted by K. W.) has now the place.*

Gallienus Redivivus : or, Murder will out,  
&c.

**T**H E foregoing account of the barbarous *Massacre of Glenco* was printed in the Year 1692. in the Answer to Dr. King's Book of the *State of the Protestants in Ireland*: And all the reception it met with among many here in *England*, was, that it was a *Jacobite* story, on purpose to reflect upon the Government, and that there was no such thing: but this is now confuted by the proceedings of the Parliament in *Scotland* this Summer session 1695, wherein they have voted the killing of the *Glenco-men* to be a murder; and yet have acquitted Sir *Thomas Livingston* and Colonel *Hill*, who gave the orders for killing them. Why? because their orders were pursuant to the *Instructions* they had from Court. Where will this lodge the murder? the design, it is well enough known, is to put it upon sir *John Dalrymple*, commonly call'd *Maister of Stair*, one of the Secretaries for *Scotland*, because he is not so fiery a *Presbyterian* as the other secretary *James Johnston*, who harh it. by inheritance to love *Crown and Mitre alike*; and to have a just reward for it. But *Dalrymple* is only a *Libertine*, or *Latitudinarian*, one of the modern *No-Religion*, who are indifferent to all, so they be troubled with none. Therefore he cares not whether *Episcopacy* or *Presbytery*, or what else is set up, provided the people be easy with it.

Now

Now it being known to *all the World*, that the pretence of the *Inclinations of the People of Scotland*, which was made the ground-work for abolishing *Episcopacy*, and setting up *Presbytery* there, was a meer sham, contriv'd by this *Johnson*, and the bigot *Presbyterian* party in Scotland; who were all put in power in the beginning of the *Revolution*; and set on the barbarous rabbling of the *Episcopal Clergy* in the west of Scotland, that they might cry out, the *inclinations of the People were against Episcopacy*: and having by these and other arts (which are fully related in print) pack'd, and then surprised the first convention, or meeting of *Estates*, to abolish *Episcopacy*: they dare not have a new *Parliament* <sup>a</sup> (as in *England*) but keep on the same *Convention* (only changing the name into that of a *Parliament*) to this day: because no free *Parliament* can be had in Scotland, which would not the first day spue out *Presbytery*, and re-establish their much more belov'd *Episcopacy*. And the People shewing great uneasiness under their present Establishment (which hath been trick'd and forc'd upon them.) All the craft and violence of the regnant *Presbytery*, assisted by *Acts of Parliament*, and all the countenance of *Government*, having not yet been able to outoust the *Episcopal Clergy* in the *North*, and other parts of Scotland, or prevail with the *People* to admit of, or almost give civil treatment to the *Presbyterian Ministers* sent to them, tho' established by law. The *Presbyterian* interest standing there upon so slender a bottom, their *Juncto* think it not safe to have a Man of *Dalrymple's* latitude in *Religion*, in so eminent a post, and near their King; lest he should follow the *inclinations of the People in good earnest*, and call a new *Parliament* there, which would ruin all their measures: therefore ways and means must be used to remove him, and leave *Johnson* and the *Presbyterian faction* in the sole possession of the *Court*. At length this of *Glenco* was pitched upon, which was so odious, they knew their King durst not own it: therefore they would throw it upon *Dalrymple*, who was Secretary, and attended when the *Instructions* were sent for the bloody murder: And thereby too, they would seem to take off the odium from their King: This was their pretence, and they had proof enough against *Dalrymple*; but how that clear'd his *Master* will be seen.

They produced nine Letters of *Dalrymple's* (of which I have copies) concerning the *Massacre of Glenco*. And I shall have occasion to mention them hereafter; I will now set down their several dates and directions, and quote them, to save repetition, only by their Number, Letter i. ii. iii. &c. the two first are directed to Lieutenant Colonel *Hamilton*, and bear date on the 1st, and the other the 3d of *December 1691*, the four next are to Sir *Thomas Livingston* of these several dates, 7, 9, 11 and 16 of *Jan. 1692*,

<sup>a</sup> See *Querela Temporum*, p. 8. and 9.



then follow two more to Colonel Hill, of the 16th and 30th of the same month, and lastly, one of the 30th ditto to Sir Thomas Levingston. It seems very strange that K. W. would suffer these Letters to be expos'd to the Parliament in Scotland, being most of them wrote by his order, enlarging upon, and enforcing the execution of Instructions sent with them for the *Massacre of Glenco*. And the regard which his dear *Presbyterians*, and his favourite *Johnston*, in particular, had to his Honour, was very slender when, to compass their ends, they load him so foully, that they might load *Dalrymple* too. *Johnston* says no, but that he *foreseeing* (because some say of his own *contriving*) that the *Parliament*, who are most of them his *Creatures* (to their honour be it spoken) would fall upon the business of *Glenco*; and that they must be, at least seemingly, gratified in it, otherwise that it might obstruct the *Money-bills*, did therefore advise his Master to send down a *Commission* to Men of his own chusing, to enquire into the affair of *Glenco*; but withal to give secret instructions to his *Commissioner* to keep up the said *Commission*, unless the *Parliament* should enter upon that business; and if they did, then to produce the said *Commission*, to shew his Majesty's *innocence*, by his care to have it examin'd; and withal it would take the examination of it out of the Hands of the *Parliament Committees*, who might not manage so *dextrously* as those of his own naming.

Things being thus stated, and the necessary orders given, it is vilely suspected that *Johnston* procured the matter to be started in Parliament, whereby at once to get rid of his rival *Secretary*, and root up the Interest of any who had but an indifferency towards *Episcopacy* at Court, tho' to the utter Shipwreck of his Master's Honour, to be recorded for all posterities (as if it were inseparable from some constitutions to betray those they serve, even tho' they wish them well, and must stand and fall with them.) For, considering the influence *Johnston* had in that Parliament, and that they never yet oppos'd his will in any thing; and that he has been able to suppress the least murmur or hint that looked towards *Glenco*, when the Fact was new committed, and the Horror of it fresh and bleeding; and now for three Years after; I say, it is not supposed by Men who understand that Parliament, that it could have been brought upon the stage, when it was almost dead and forgotten, if the Hand of *Joab* had not been in it; but let him look to that — I have only to add, as a completion of the foregoing *Narrative*, that I can from unquestionable vouchers, give the Reader an account of the Orders from Court to Sir Thomas Levingston, and Col. Hill, which are not in the Letter that goes before; and when the Reader is told, that *Hamilton* (whose order to *Duncan* is inserted) and his order from *Levingston* and *Hill*; then he has the whole thread, viz. W. R's order to *Levingston* and *Hill*; *Levingston* and

Hill to Hamilton; Hamilton to Duncanson, and Duncanson to Glenlyon, who was the Butcher.

You find in the Gazettes two sets of *Instructions*, one of the 11th, the other of the 16th Jan. 1691-2, and I will give you an account of them both. Those of the 11th did expressly order FIRE and SWORD, [these were the words] against all the *Highland Clans*, who had not taken the *Oaths*. After they were sent away, my Lord Carmarthen (now Leeds) being told of it by Dalrymple (as I am informed) did represent it to K. W. as a thing so unknown in these Countries, which was governed by Laws, that *Fire and Sword* would sound very harshly, no such words having ever been heard from any of our *Native Kings*. This procured the mitigation of that order by the *instructions* of the 16th, which poured all the thunder upon Glenco; because *some sacrifice must be made!* what concern'd Glenco was in the 4th of these *Instructions*, and is as follows.

WILLIAM R.

*As for Mac-jan of Glenco, and that Tribe, if they can be well distinguished from the rest of the Highlanders, it will be proper for the vindication of publick Justice, to extirpate that set of Thieves.*

W. R.

This was directed to Sir Thomas Levingston and Col. Hill. And the Parliament has voted that Levingston or Hill's orders did not exceed these *Instructions*; nor indeed could they: for what can exceed *extirpation*? and that to be executed at the discretion of *Soldiers*? as it is worded in the Secretary's Letter to Sir Thomas Levingston. <sup>b</sup> I am confident (says he) you will see there are full powers given to you in very plain terms, and yet the method left very much to your own discretion.

Take notice that the *instructions* are counter sign'd W. R. at bottom as well as top, which is not usual: for it is the Secretary's Office to counter sign the King's orders, and the reason is, that if any thing be amiss, the Secretary must be answerable. Therefore Dalrymple had reason to wave that ceremony in this instance, and let his Master take all the glory to himself. And lest this should not be sufficiently taken notice of, and that he might have a voucher when time comes, he took care to inform Sir Thomas Levingston punctually of it in the same Letter which enclosed the first most bloody *Instructions* of the 11th of Jan. 1691-2, for an universal massacre of ALL who had not taken the *Oaths*. And begins in these words: *c* Sir, I send you the Kings instructions super and subscrib'd by himself — And to shew how pleasing a thing mercy was to them, and with what reluctancy they prosecuted those who had taken the *Oaths*, he says in the same Letter, just now Argyle

tells



tells me that Glenco hath not taken the Oaths, at which I rejoyce. It's a great work of charity to be exact in rooting out that damnable sect. And to shew how great this charity was, and whence it proceeded, the wise Secretary blurrs out these words; I have no great kindness for Keappoch, nor Glenco, and it's well those People are in mercy. Well indeed! they were in merciful hands! who can say they ought not to die? for whom such a Secretary hath no great kindness! but who are they must die? ALL! ALL! Man, Woman, and Child! massacre the Men, and drive the Women and Children to perish more cruelly in the Mountains. To which purpose, that extreme cold season was chosen for the execution. <sup>a</sup> The winter is the only season (says the Secretary) in which we are sure the Highlanders cannot escape us, nor carry their Wives, Bairns, and Cattle to the Mountains. <sup>c</sup> It's the only time that they cannot escape you; for human constitution cannot endure to be long out of Houses——This is the proper season to maul them in the cold long Nights. This was express'd with the gusto of a Vulture, in expectation of a glorious massacre! and then how easy it would be! <sup>e</sup> I expect (says he) you will find little resistance but from the Season. And then what thorough work they could make! <sup>f</sup> To destroy entirely the country of Lochabar, Lochells, Lauds, Keappoch's, Glengaries, Appin, and Glenco. Here was a plentiful feast provided! it was a ravishing prospect!

But O! how these Lyons were enraged when any of their desired prey was delivered out of their jaws. It was in a mournful strain the Secretary tells the sad News. <sup>h</sup> We have an account, (says he) that Lochart, and Mac-naghton, Appin, and Glenco took the benefit of the indemnity at Inverary; and Keappoch, and others, at Inverness: But after this, when Argyle told him that Glenco had not taken the Oaths; how did he rejoyce! as above quoted. <sup>i</sup> I am glad (says he) that Glenco did not come within the time prescrib'd. <sup>k</sup> I am content that CLAN except itself. <sup>l</sup> For my part I could have wish'd the Mac-donalds had not divided, that is, that they had all excluded themselves from mercy, and I am sorry that Keappoch, and Mac-jan of Glenco are safe. But it seems they were not safe. Some must be made a sacrifice, and Glenco was pitched upon for the victim. And the implacable fury, which was shewn against that Clan, expressed the rage they felt, that so many had escaped them. And therefore that Clan was to be destroyed entirely. <sup>m</sup> I assure you, says the Secretary to his Officers, your power shall be enough, and I hope the Soldiers will not trouble the Government with Prisoners. <sup>n</sup> For a just example of vengeance I intreat, that the thieving tribe of Glenco may be rooted out in earnest. I shall intreat you, that for a just vengeance, and publick example, the thieving tribe

<sup>a</sup> Letter i.<sup>c</sup> Letter ii.<sup>e</sup> Letter iv.<sup>g</sup> Letter iii.<sup>h</sup> Letter iv.<sup>i</sup> Letter ix.<sup>k</sup> Letter i.<sup>l</sup> Letter ix.

tribe of Glenco may be rooted out to purpose. The Earl of Argyle has promised they shall have no retreat in his bounds; the passes to Rannach would be secured, and the hazard certified to the Laird of ——— to retreat: then in that case Argyle's detachment, with a party that may be posted in Island Stalker, must cut them off. ° Pray when any thing concerning Glenco is resolved, let it be secret and sudden, otherwise the Men will shift you, and better not meddle with them, than not to do it to purpose, to cut off that nest of Robbers, who are fallen in the mercy of the Law. ¶ I am glad Glenco did not come in within the time prescribed. I hope what is done there may be in earnest, since the rest are not in a condition to draw together to help. I think to herry their Cattle, or burn their Houses, is but to rendet them desperate lawless Men, to rob their Neighbours; but I believe you will be satisfied it were great advantage to the Nation, that that thieving tribe were rooted out, and cut off. It must be quietly done, otherwise they will make shift for both the Men and their Cattle. Argyle's detachment lies in Keappoch well, to assist the Garrison to do all ON A SUDDEN. Was ever so greedy a hunt after the lives of a Company of secure and unarm'd People, who slept fearless, and suspecting no danger, under the protection of those who were thus contriving to massacre them in the most Savage and Treacherous manner.

The Secretary tells Col. Hill, that ° the oaths are indispensable. This was a fearful method of imposing the oaths upon these Highlanders, that none must live who would not take them! but were all admitted to take them? one would think so, when they were made indispensable. Yet notwithstanding, in that same Letter he gives these directions to Col. Hill. "Till we see what is done by the Chiefs, it is not time to receive their Tenants, or admitting them to take the oaths, or hoping for pardon, till they give evidence that they are willing to pay their Rents to you, and to take tax for their former duties; who will not do so, and were in the Rebellion, must feel the dismal consequences of it."

Thus Naboth's Vineyard made him a blasphemer! if the tenants would betray the rights of their Landlords to attorn and pay the Rents to the Secretary, or his Governour, then, and not otherwise, they should be admitted to take the oaths; and yet they must not live, if they did not take the oaths: but Glenco took the oaths, yet that sav'd not his life nor his Clan.

It were reasonable here to presume that K. W. did not know that they had taken the oaths. First, if it had been so, this manner of massacre in cold blood had been a cruelty without a precedent. Secondly, It was taking advantage of the time with the greatest rigour. For the time limited by the indemnity expired but the 1st of January 1691-2. And the instructions for a general massacre were



were dated the 11th of the same month at *London*, which was hardly time enough to know whether they had taken the Oaths or not. But *Thirdly*, Here is no room left to surmise that K. W. did not know it; because Secretary *Dalrymple*, in his letter to Sir *Thomas Levingston* before quoted, which is dated at *London* the 9th of *Jan.* 1691-2, tells him, <sup>p</sup> That they had an account that *Glenco* had taken the Oaths at *Inverary*; which was the place he did take them, as is told in the foregoing Narrative. And he tells Sir *Thomas* in the same Letter, “ I have been with the King. He says your Instructions shall be dispatch’d on *Monday*.” And they were so. For that *Monday* was the 11th of *January* 1691-2, which day the instructions do bare date. And this Letter of the Secretary’s was dated the 9th of *Jan.* 1691-2, which was the *Saturday* before. And then tells Sir *Thomas*, that he had the account of *Glenco*’s having taken the Oaths with several others; that he had been with the King concerning it, and instructions should be sent, &c. ’Tis true his Letter of the 11th, which went with the instructions, says, <sup>q</sup> That *Argyle* told him, *Glenco* had not taken the Oaths before that time, according to the account which the Secretary own’d was sent to him, and *Argyle* was an Enemy to *Glenco*, as appears by what is quoted out of the Letter 7. But this saying of *Argyle* to the Secretary in *London* could not be of *Argyle*’s own knowledge. And one would think, that the Secretary of state should have as good intelligence as he.

But to make the most of it, this could amount to no more than a *doubt*; and to suspend his farther resolution, till he might have the certainty from *Scotland*; but they did not stay for this, for the particular instructions to massacre *Glenco* bore date the 16th of *Jan.* 1691-2, betwixt which time and the 11th, when *Argyle* told the Secretary as above, they could not send to *Scotland*, and have an answer back. Now these instructions of the 16th were no way conditional, to cut off *Glenco* if he had not taken the Oaths; but positive, and without more ado. When it is certain, that K. W. must at least *doubt* whether he had taken the Oaths, or not; but it is apparent, that Col. *Hill*, who had given *Glenco* his protection, and to whom *Glenco* came to take the Oaths, I say it is certain, that he, and the other Officers there upon the place, knew very well, that *Glenco* had taken the Oaths and submitted to the Government. Those Officers, whom he received into his House, and quartered their Soldiers among his Tenants, upon his laying down his Arms; these must know that he had *submitted*. But if notwithstanding they must obey their orders (as they did) if it be not permitted to Officers so much as *rescribere*, to acquaint the King with any mistake that may be in his orders; but to execute them blindfold, and without asking questions, then let me lye out of the reach of a Soldier.

The

The Reader must likewise know, that none of these foresaid instructions were communicated to the Privy-council of *Scotland*, to whom by the constitution of that Kingdom, and continual custom, all the King's orders are directed. They knew nothing of this matter; it was contriv'd to be carry'd in such a manner, as not to be prevented. And when *Gallienus's* thirst of blood is once satisfy'd, then let *Slaves* grumble, and make inquiry! we know how to manage them. *Johnston* hath undertaken it; nay he hath done it. *Done it!* more effectually than ever was heard, or I believe, imagin'd, in these Nations before the happy Revolution: for here is a precedent made, and that by P——t, That the King may send his Guards, and cut any Man's throat in the Nation in cold blood; nay he may massacre the whole P——t, as they are there sitting, by the rule that they have given; that is, to acquit *Levingston* and *Hill*; and to justify them for pursuing the King's orders to massacre a whole Clan, which is no more just, or law, than to massacre a P——t.

Let us banter the world or our selves no more with liberty and laws! and when P——ts can be brought to approve and justify all this---Well! *Johnston!* Thou hast manag'd nobly. Thou art fit to serve a Monarch! but not unless you bring your Monarch cleverly off in this business; for what if you can place it upon *Dalrymple*; and if *Dalrymple* shou'd be hang'd for daring to send such an order, tho' he refused to countersign it, what will become of him, who both sign'd it, and counter-sign'd it, and commanded it to be sent.

*If the Man such praises have,*

*What must he employs the K----?*

Why! did his master never enquire into the matter before? never before the Parliament clamour'd! and what was the meaning of a commission to examine into what himself had ordered——But *Mes James!*---And have you ev'n brought your Master into this noose! what can you expect from him, but to be *Glen Co'd* for your pains? *Qui Glencoat Glencoabitur*---You have brought all his sins to remembrance. The *Dewitting* in *Holland* was almost forgot——You have pretty good experience of his temper, or you may have. But if he suffer you to live to see another Revolution, you may plead merit: for all his enemies have not render'd him so black, so effectually prov'd, and demonstrated it to the World, as your management has done. He is happy in his Ministers! at least very justly serv'd by them.

He wants but a good *Historian*, that he may not lose his Character to after ages. And, secretary, you cannot do better than to recommend your Uncle to that Office. He'll do it deliciously; he'll neither find or make parallels to him out of antient Histories (for he'll find none among the moderns, especially in these Countries) and make



make him (*I'll warrant you*) excel them all. And among the rest, I would recommend one to him, that fits the present case so exactly, *that you would think one was copied out from the other*, and it is as follows.

“ Gallienus, *ut erat nequam & perditus, ita etiam, ubi Necessitas coegisset, velox, furibundus, ferus, vehemens, crudelis—In omnes mefiacos, tam milites quam cives, asperrime sevit: nec quemquam sua crudelitatis exortem reliquit: usque adeo Asper & Iuventus, ut plerasq; civitates vacuas a virili sexu reliquerit.*

“ *Extat sane epistola Gallieni quam ad Ceierem Verianum scripsit, qua ejus Nimietas crudelitatis ostenditur: quam ego idcirco interposui, ut omnes intelligerent, hominem luxuriosum crudelissimum esse, si necessitas postulet.*

Gallienus Veriano. *Non mihi satisfacies, si tantum Armatos trucidaris, quos & fors belli interimere potuisset. Perimendus est omnis sexus virilis, si & senes atq; Impuberes sine reprehensione nostra occidi possent. Occidendus est quicunq; male voluit. Occidendus est quicunq; maledixit contra me, contra Valeriani filium, contra tot principum patrem & fratrem, ingenuus factus est Imperator. Lacera, Occide, Concide: animum meum intelligere potes, mea mente irascere qui hæc manu mea scripsi. Trebell. Pollion. Trigint. Tyrann de Ingenuo.*

This is the description of Gallienus, a cruel and a bloody Tyrant: and here is the copy of some instructions he sent to Verianus, an Officer of his, about just such another massacre as Glenco, which he wrote or sign'd with his own hand: Wherein he commands him, *to put all to the Sword, all that durst speak or think against him, as well old as young; he bid him plunder, kil, tear; and that it would not please him if he kill'd only those in arms against him, but all of the masculine Sex.*

Here was a great deal of do, and many words about it! but our milder order bid only extirpate, and that not this or that body, or making distinctions of old or young, *Men or Women*——What need *all that cookery*! but only *the whole Tribe*; that was all! he scorn'd to except the pitiful Women, as Gallienus did. What need they be excepted? why! he excepted no body! *short work's best—and few words*——And as the answer to Great Britain's just complaint, publish'd by authority, 1692, Says, p. 37, in vindication of W. R. as to this of Glenco. *A milder order was never given.* And he says, that his Majesty *has express'd a high displeasure at it.* It was *high* indeed; for we never heard of it before. Nor are we like to hear of it, that I can see: for all the Officers who commanded, or who executed it, are still in their respective Posts, unless advanced. Nor have we heard that so much as an ill word has been said by him to any one of them.

But this we know by that answer to Great Britain's just complaint

*plaint*, that W. R. cannot plead ignorance, that there was a great clamour about the massacre of *Glenco* three years ago, and that he has taken no notice of it all this time; nor now, till it was first started in *Parliament*, and that then, what he did, was as much as he could, to take it out of the hands of the *Parliament*, and by all his might and main, to stifle, or at least to baffle it. And that it has been baffled. And this horrible addition is thereby made to the guilt of that murder: that whereas none were answerable for it before, except only *Gallienus* and his *Verianuses*, with their Accomplices, it is now become a National guilt (so far as the *Parliament* are the Representatives of the People) by the *Parliament's* making *Gallienus's* instructions sufficient to justify *Verianus* in his execution of them. Whereby they justify the whole murder, and bring it upon their own heads, and upon the heads of their Children. For if *Gallienus* had no power by *Law* to send such *Instructions*, they could be no *Justification* to *Verianus*: but now that *Parliament* has voted, that such *Instructions* are a *Justification* of *Verianus*: and therefore they have yielded, that *Gallienus* has by a *Law*, a power to send such *Instructions*, and that they ought to be obey'd. And then, *Lord have mercy upon us!*

But to bring our story to an end; there is one noble stroke of *Secretary Johnston's* behind, whereby he thinks he has wiped his master clean from all imputation of the massacre of *Glenco*; and that is, he has persuaded Lieutenant Colonel *Hamilton* (whose order to *Duncanson* is in the aforesaid Narrative) to abscond for some time; and then to slip over to K. W. in *Flanders*: which he has done. This shews as if he were more guilty than the rest. He is made the scape-goat, and all this sin is laid upon his head. But if *Hill* gave his orders to his Lieutenant Colonel *Hamilton* (which he avers in his order to *Duncanson*) why was it more criminal in *Hamilton* to hand down his Colonel's orders to the next Subaltern?

And why must *Glenlyon* and the others who actually committed that horrid massacre, and are now in their respective commands in *Flanders*, why should these be excused?

O! no! they are not excused; for as in the *Gazette* 18th July 1695, the *Parliament* in *Scotland* has made a fierce vote against them, *That his Majesty be addressed to send them home to be prosecuted for the same, or not? as his Majesty shall think fit,*—

OR NOT! this is as civil as heart could wish! And whether this *Address* was sent, or not; whether it was trusted to *Secretary Johnston* to send it, or not, is all one; for instead of sending them home to be tryed, *Hamilton* is sent to them: And in justice we are to suppose, that due care will be taken, that in this Campaign, they shall either be killed, taken, or desert. And then if we had them again, how we would hang the Rogues.





